Anglo-Scandinavians in north east England and south east Scotland between the eighth and eleventh centuries

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to provide a better understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in north east England and south east Scotland between the eighth and eleventh centuries, the form it took and the impact it had. Despite recent developments in the field of Anglo-Scandinavian archaeology in Britain and the new perspectives brought by new evidence to the understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in Britain, very few of these have been applied or used in relation to north east England and south east Scotland. The result of this is that these regions have been left understudied and consequently the picture of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in these regions is outdated and does not reflect current developments.

A study of current debates and modern developments will suggest which terminology offers the most accurate option for recognising material associated with the incoming Scandinavians in the archaeological record of eighth to eleventh century north east England and south east Scotland. The term Anglo-Scandinavian was seen as the most accurate alternative description to 'Viking'. The collection of data for Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the region reflected recent debates and developments. The evidence was plotted and analysed to provide an understanding about Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the study region, the form it took and the impact it had.

The main conclusion from this study is that the form and impact of Anglo-Scandinavian presence varied significantly throughout the study region.

This project recommends that sites that which have produced significant sculptural or artefactual evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity be targeted for further investigation to provide a better understanding of the nature of Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the region. The study and creation of a typology for existing artefacts such as lead weights would provide a better understanding of the nature of activities such as trade, carried out by Anglo-Scandinavians.

Keywords: Viking, Scandinavian, Anglo-Scandinavian, presence, impact, form, north east England, south east Scotland

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List of Abbreviations

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ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle	153
HSC	Historia de Sancto Cuthberto	36
N.E. England	north east England	20
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme	15
S.E. Scotland	south east Scotland	20

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1.Introduction

1.1 Sites

The field of Anglo-Scandinavian archaeology in Britain is developing as study of the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* (hereafter PAS) data introduces new perspectives and long held beliefs are questioned (Hadley and Richards 2000).

Simy Folds in County Durham (Coggins et al 1983), Gauber High Pasture in North Yorkshire (King 1978), Bryant's Gill in Cumbria (Dickinson 1985) and Greenshiel in Northumberland (Northumberland County Council & English Heritage 2009a, 14), all sites once classified as 'Viking' are now being reclassified (Richards 2004, 109). Their classification as 'Viking' on the basis of building materials or parallels with other 'Viking' sites ignores the role played by environmental factors and the availability of local building materials and assumes these attributes are down to a 'Viking' ethnicity (Richards 2011).

The habitation of the sites being compared is often separated by decades or centuries (Richards 2000), whilst some 'Viking' sites pre-date Scandinavian settlement. No diagnostically validated Anglo-Scandinavian artefacts have been recovered from these sites (Graham-Campbell 1989).Buildings such as bow-sided halls, which were common in Denmark were routinely accepted as indicators of 'Viking' presence (Richards 2004, 110). Recently, differences between 'Viking' and Anglo-Saxon lifestyles and building styles have been questioned, with emphasis now placed on regional, socio-economic factors and impact on building styles and variation, allowing the evidence to speak for itself rather than restricting it with narrowly defined questions (Richards 2004, 109).

1.2 Burials

Burial archaeology is changing, with the once clear distinction between 'Viking' and Anglo-Saxon being revised. The belief that grave goods represented pagan and therefore 'Viking' activity (Daniell and Thompson 1999, 72) (Adams 2014), as seen for example in the excavation at Adwick-le-Street, "an assemblage of copper-alloy and iron grave-goods typical of a female Scandinavian burial of the Viking period" (Speed & Rogers 2004), is an over simplification (Richards 2004, 202). Few clear links exist between object and burial as churchyards were heavily disturbed (Richards 2004, 202). Pagan Scandinavians recognised the importance of the Church in society and attempted to associate with it by being buried in a churchyard (Hadley 2014a).

Little suggests a distinctive Scandinavian pagan burial rite (Hadley 2000b) as Scandinavians quickly adopted the customs of their host culture (Hadley 2014b). Variation in burial rite occurred at village or farmstead level in Scandinavia (Price 2008). Cremations largely cannot be dated to the period from the eighth to eleventh centuries, whilst Christian burials with grave goods appear in churchyards on the Continent and 'pagan' iconography may be an attempt to draw parallels between Christianity and paganism, easing the process of conversion (Hadley 2000b).

Pre-'Viking' burial rites in Britain were extremely variable (Halsall 2000). Like settlements, emphasis should be placed on exploring the social, political and economic factors influencing burials, which may provide information about local power structures (Halsall 2000), assimilation and identity during the period of Anglo-Scandinavian activity (Redmond 2007, i).

1.3 Sculpture

Monuments known as hogbacks have long been the subject of scholarly debate (Lang 2001, 22). Some argued that hogbacks were pre-'Viking', reflecting the "model of a cottage built on siles or A-shaped timbers" (Collingwood 1927, 164). The inspiration for these monuments may have been derived from the early shrine tombs (Brown 1937, 290) such as the wooden tomb of Saint Chad, described by Saint Bede (Collingwood 1927, 164). Other hogbacks such as that from Bedale, Yorkshire, may display Christian influence, namely a depiction of the Madonna and Child (Collingwood 1927, 165).

Others emphasized the role in the creation of hogbacks. Walton argued they reflected the "cruck-trussed timber dwellings" (Walton 1954) brought to Britain by Danish settlers, who maintained this distinctive building type (Walton 1954).

Lang saw hogbacks as "Viking colonial monuments" (Lang 1991, 32), since they were an example of "the independence of the English colony's art in relation to that of the Scandinavian homelands" (Lang 1984). Hogbacks represented the grave covers of the 'Viking' elite who converted to Christianity (Lang 1984). Their origins lay with the Hiberno-Norse settlers in northern England in the tenth century (Lang 1978), as suggested by their similarities to common tenth century crosses in Ireland and the Bamberg and Cammin caskets, which bear known Scandinavian and Irish influence (Lang 1978). Such carvings were originally pagan though Christian iconography was gradually introduced (Lang 1978).

Others argued that both Anglian and Scandinavian cultures influenced hogbacks. Hogbacks were "a secular adaptation of the solid building-shaped shrines of pre-Viking England such as the so-called Hedda's tomb in Peterborough Cathedral" (Bailey 2011) by Hiberno-Norse elites in tenth century northern England (Bailey 2011). Hogbacks were inspired by contemporary buildings (Bailey 1980, 86) such as churches or timber halls (Driscoll et al 2005). Many such monuments may have been purposely placed near churches in order to "harness the historic power of those places" (Harrison 2014). Whitworth, in her forthcoming publications, *Vikings in Stone? The Human Image in the Art of Northumbria c.800-1100* and *Bodystones and Guardian Beasts: The Recumbent Grave-Markers of Middle Britain c.800-c.1100* also questions exclusive Scandinavian influence on hogbacks and their supposed link to Scandinavian settlements (Williams 2016b).

Recently, the idea that there were single sources of inspiration for hogbacks has been challenged. Their role as grave markers and relationship to other stones is unclear given that hogbacks have never been found in situ and were often found in a fragmentary state (Williams 2016a). Little seems to suggest any commonalities in terms of location for these monuments, with hogbacks occurring at certain sites but not at other ecclesiastical sites where tenth century sculpture was being produced (Williams 2016a).

The Bible, mythology, heroes, saints, powerful figures (Williams 2015a), architecture, contemporary buildings and small artefacts such as portable tombs or shrines (Williams 2016a) all influenced hogbacks. Northern Britain was part of the Scandinavian trading world and was open to the variety of cultural influences associated with it (Williams 2016a). Similar monuments to hogbacks include

carved stones from Meigle in Scotland, which display a myriad of influence, including Pictish influence as suggested by the serpent or dragon motifs among other features (Hall 2014) and sixth century wooden coffins from south west Germany which also bear similarities in terms of their animal designs, flat bases and sloping sides (Hall 2014). Other similar recumbent monuments include the tomb of St Lotharius from Normandy or the eleventh century shrine tombs from Scandinavia such as those from Botkyrkja in Sweden or Norderhov in Norway (Hall 2014). Unfortunately, wood does not survive well, making it difficult to know if these stone carvings were part of a larger tradition (Williams 2015b). All these monuments show the diversity of possible influences on hogbacks.

The meaning of hogbacks was not static, with their re-cutting resulting in a re-emphasis of their identity (Whitworth 2015). Hogbacks "installed and bound the dead *in place* within the church or churchyard" (Williams 2015a) affording "the sense of an inhabited tomb, akin to the shrines of saints" (Williams 2015a). Hogbacks are no longer seen in the "conventional Norse/native, pagan/Christian dichotomies" (Williams 2016a) and interpreted in such a way (Williams 2016a).

Even the term hogback has come under scrutiny with critics claiming that a variety of often unrelated monuments are classified as hogbacks. This has led to alternative terms such as hogbacks and recumbent stones or hogbacks and coped monuments, being proposed by Pierce (Williams 2015b) and bodystones by Whitworth (Williams 2015b).

These developments have changed the way Anglo-Scandinavian material is recognised in the archaeological record and consequently views about the Anglo-Scandinavian impact on Britain.

1.4 Research Focus

These developments have largely focused on the Danelaw and East Anglia, meaning that there is a need to extend this research to north east England (hereafter N.E. England) and south east Scotland (hereafter S.E. Scotland). For example, a tenth century burial from Cambois in Northumberland is still considered 'Viking' on the basis of grave goods. Whereas finds from the Danelaw, recorded through the *PAS*, have received significant coverage such as in Kershaw's *Viking Identities: Scandinavian Jewellery in England*, those from N.E. England and S.E. Scotland have received little if any attention, despite sites such as Thirston producing significant numbers of finds. Lead weights, for example, which it has recently been argued are indicators of an alternative Scandinavian economy have been found in N.E. England (Kershaw 2017), yet have received little attention. County Durham's place-names have received limited coverage. No co-ordinated work has been carried out on Northumberland and S.E. Scotland's place-names.

There is a real need to understand the Anglo-Scandinavian impact on N.E. England and S.E. Scotland. Important sources of information about the assimilation process, such as stone sculpture, could be better appreciated if their cultural context was understood (Kopár 2012, 210&211). At present there is no such cultural context for N.E. England and S.E. Scotland. Despite the presence of important evidence, "in the Tees Valley and elsewhere, relatively little is known of the impact of Viking settlement and rule in the region" (Petts and Gerrard 2006, 163). New studies should take a multi-disciplinary approach (Rippon 2003), especially for N.E. England and S.E. Scotland where evidence is limited and the multi-disciplinary approach offers the clearest and fullest picture. In light of the

developments mentioned earlier, regarding how Anglo-Scandinavian material is identified, there is a real need to study the evidence from N.E. England and S.E. Scotland to see how the coming of the Scandinavians created new identities in this area (Petts and Gerrard 2006, 163).

The *PAS* data is extremely valuable in opening up new perspectives that have previously gone unnoticed, as Kershaw's work and *The Anglo-Saxon and Viking Landscape and Economy Project* show. Given that the majority of the archaeological evidence from N.E. England and S.E. Scotland comes from the *PAS*, it is extremely important to utilise this information.

Identities resulting from Scandinavian presence in the region are poorly understood and there is a need to shed light on the circumstances which create new identities and how they are expressed in these situations (Richards 2005,133). This in turn would provide a fuller understanding of the mechanics of Scandinavian colonisation, offering a perspective from an area of limited activity.

Rollason's *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* gives some coverage to Anglo-Scandinavian activity in Northumbria though this is not the focus of the book and the text focused largely on evidence from southern Northumbria largely due to the belief that Anglo-Scandinavian influence did not extend north of the Tees (Rollason 2003, 244). Furthermore, the publication is nearly fifteen years old and could not take *PAS* evidence into account.

Northumbria received limited coverage in Woolf's *From Pictland to Alba: Scotland, 789-1070*, as the focus of the book was Scotland. McGuigan's thesis, *Neither Scotland nor England: Middle Britain c.850-1150* has provided much

valuable information and understanding about Northumbria in the period of Anglo-Scandinavian activity, though only focused on the historical sources. Scholars have therefore stressed the need to take a multi-disciplinary approach to provide a more balanced picture (Rollason 2010a).

1.5 Overall Research Aim and Individual Research Objectives

The overall aim of this project is to advance the understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland between the eighth and eleventh centuries, its impact and the identity that it produced. Traditional terminologies namely 'Viking', do not reflect the current state of knowledge regarding Anglo-Scandinavians in Britain in the eighth to eleventh centuries, meaning there is a need for a more accurate term. The current state of knowledge regarding Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland is outdated. New evidence needs to be analysed to provide an up to date and accurate picture of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the region, the form it took and the impact it had. Furthermore, there is a need to combine both these strands of research and evaluate what the evidence from N.E. England and S.E. Scotland implies about identity.

The literature review of this project will deal with the problems of the term 'Viking' and the most appropriate alternative. Research relating to the evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian presence and its impact will be collected from secondary sources consisting of archaeological finds, historical sources, place-names and sculpture. Research from both these sections will be combined to better understand identity in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland in the period of

Anglo-Scandinavian activity. Further information on research choices can be found in the Methodology Chapter.

This project aims at furthering understanding about Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland in the eighth to eleventh centuries, the impact it had and the identity it produced. The specific individual research aims to achieve this are:

Objective 1 – To assess whether or not 'Viking' is an appropriate description for Scandinavians in Britain between the eighth and eleventh centuries and if not, which alternative term offers a more accurate description

Objective 2 – To identify potential indicators of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in north east England and south east Scotland through the use of the archaeological record, sculpture, historical sources and place-names.

Objective 3 – To assess what further understanding this evidence can provide about Anglo-Scandinavian activity in north east England and south east Scotland, the form it took and the impact it had on the existing society.

Objective 4 – Analyse the evidence from north east England and south east Scotland to see whether or not it corresponds with the conclusions of Objective 1. What does the evidence from north east England and south east Scotland suggest about identity.

Objective 1 will offer an alternative term to 'Viking', one which is more accurate and better reflects the differences among the Scandinavians of the eighth to eleventh centuries and therefore provides a better starting point for developing a framework for looking at material in the archaeological record. Objectives 2 and 3 will provide an up to date and accurate picture of the evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland and its impact, using material that has not been studied before. Objective 4 uses the developments in the field of Anglo-Scandinavian archaeology and identity and applies these to N.E. England and S.E. Scotland, to see what the evidence from the region suggests about identity. A project with these aims has not been carried out before for this area.

1.6 Value of this research

This project will provide an up to date, accurate and multi-disciplinary picture of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Currently, there is no such similar project, meaning there is a need to bring the region up to date with modern debates and developments, such as those outlined earlier. Through doing this, the

project will also provide a clearer view of Anglo-Scandinavian activity and the nature of interactions between Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon, in a marginal area, which has long been held as suffering little from Scandinavian incursions. Furthermore, through the literature review, it is hoped that the need for an alternative to 'Viking', highlighted by many scholars, is made clear.

The next chapter, the literature review, as mentioned, evaluates the term 'Viking' and its problems and the proposed alternatives, making recommendations about which alternative is most appropriate.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This review will show the need for an alternative to 'Viking' and why this is of importance. Furthermore, it is hoped that the reasons why such a project needed to be carried for N.E. England and S.E. Scotland are clear. Before addressing issues regarding terminology, there will be a brief overview of the sources of evidence available for the study of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in this area, and the history of the debates which led to the suggested need for new terminology.

2.2 Sources of evidence for the study of Anglo-Scandinavian activity in north east England and south east Scotland

2.2.01 Historical Sources

There are a number of historical sources available for the study of Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the study region.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* began to be compiled in the late ninth century though earlier events were recorded. Some versions of the chronicle continued to record events until the mid-twelfth century. The chronicle records events in England and some abroad but primarily focuses on events to the south of the study region.

The *Chronicle of Melrose* recorded events in Scotland and England between AD 735 and AD 1270. The chronicle is comprised of two sections.

One, a compilation of earlier sources, covers the period from AD 735 until the mid-twelfth century. The other, a contemporary record of events, covers the mid-twelfth century until AD 1270. This chronicle was compiled over a century after Anglo-Scandinavian rule in the study region ended.

There are sources with a more regional focus. Symeon of Durham's *Historia Regum* covers events from AD 731 to AD 1129 and was intended to be a continuation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, whilst his *History of the Church of Durham* was a chronicle of the See of Durham from the monastic beginnings at Lindisfarne in AD 635 to the death of William of Saint-Calais, Bishop of Durham in AD 1096. Both works date from the early twelfth century and are comprised of original work by Symeon and compilations of other historical sources. Symeon's works favour the Community of St Cuthbert and the See of Durham. Though both works were compiled around a century and a half after Anglo-Scandinavian rule in the study area ended they are still useful, the *History of the Church of Durham* is especially so.

The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* was compiled in the tenth or eleventh century and documents the life of St Cuthbert and the activities of the Community of St Cuthbert. Despite the text's partiality to the Community of St Cuthbert, it is probably the most informative text regarding Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the study region.

Compiled in AD 1183, the *Boldon Book* documents the lands held in County Durham and Northumberland by the Bishop of Durham and can indicate on whether estates had been fragmented by Anglo-Scandinavians or were still intact. It provides information on areas not mentioned in the *Domesday Book.*

Useful overviews of the historical material for the period can be found in Rollason, Fellows-Jensen and Gore's *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, Peter Sawyer's chapter *Some Sources for the history of Viking Northumbria* in *Viking Age York and the North*, Alan Orr Anderson's two volume work *Early Sources of Scottish History A.D. 500 To A.D. 1286,* Stevenson's *Church historians of England,* Woolf's *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070,* McGuigan's PhD thesis *Neither Scotland nor England: Middle Britain, C. 850-1100* and Woolf's discussion of Auldhame in *Living and Dying at Auldhame: The Excavation of an Anglian Monastic Settlement and Medieval Parish Church.* Rollason has also produced a translation of Symeon's *History of the Church of Durham.*

2.2.02 Artefacts

Published sources on Anglo-Scandinavian artefacts in N.E. England are largely limited to Cramp and Miket's *Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon and Viking Antiquities in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne* and Bjørn and Shetelig's *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland. Part 4, Viking Antiquities in England.* Both publications are dated and do not record recent finds. Online sources provide the best source of information with the *PAS* being most important and the *Historic Environment Record, Pastscape* and County Durham and Northumberland's *Keys to the Past* also being of value. *The Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy project* contextualises finds from the *PAS,* bringing new perspectives to England's landscape and economic history (Richards and Naylor 2006). Kershaw's *Viking Identities: Scandinavian Jewellery in England* which also used data from the *PAS* is discussed later. Scotland is not

as well served with the *Canmore* website offering the best source of information for Anglo-Scandinavian artefacts in Scotland. Regional *Historic Environment Records* and *National Museums Scotland* online catalogue are also of value.

2.2.03 Place-Names

National sources of information concerning place-names in the study region are Watts' *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names,* the University of Nottingham's *Keys to English Place-Names* website, Nicolaisen's *Scottish Place-Names: their study and significance,* Anke-Beate Stahl's *Guide to the Scandinavian origins of place names in Britain* and Barbara Crawford's *Scandinavian Scotland.*

On a more regional level there is Watts' *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-names* and his article *Scandinavian settlement-names in County Durham,* Mawer's *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham,* Williamson's PhD thesis, *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties,* Fellows-Jensen's article *Scandinavians in southern Scotland,* Crawford's edited book *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain: Thirteen Studies of Place-Names in their Historical Context* and Grant's PhD thesis *Scandinavian place-names in northern Britain as evidence for language contact and interaction.*

Similar works also include *Howes and Knowes: An Introduction to Berwickshire Place-names* by Michael .E. Braithwaite and Dixon's PhD thesis *The Place-names of Midlothian* and Nicolaisen's *Scandinavian personal names in*

the place-names of South-East Scotland. Recent work about place-names in the study area include Peter Drummond's article *Place-name losses and changes - a study in Peeblesshire: a comparative study of hill-names and other toponyms* and Dunlop's PhD thesis *Breaking old and new ground: a comparative study of coastal and inland naming in Berwickshire.* Diana Whaley's future publication, *Dictionary of the Place-names of Northumberland* will be extremely valuable. Earlier works such as Mawer's should be treated with caution as their conclusions are not always reliable.

2.2.04 Sculpture

N.E. England is much better served than S.E. Scotland for publications about sculpture, being included in the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* project. Other valuable sources of information are Taylor and Taylor's *Anglo-Saxon Architecture,* the works of Eric Cambridge, especially *The early church in Durham: A reassessment* and Bailey's *Viking Age Sculpture in northern England.* J.T. Lang has produced works covering sculpture from N.E. England and S.E. Scotland including his chapter *Recent studies in the pre-Conquest sculpture of Northumbria* and also *Hogbacks in north-eastern England*. Canmore can also be consulted for sculpture in Scotland.

2.3 Debates about the number of settlers and their impact

2.3.01 Maximalist Position

Debates about Anglo-Scandinavian presence have traditionally focused on the number of settlers involved and their impact on the societies they came in to

contact with (Hadley 2006, 6). On either side of this debate have been the maximalists, who suggested that the Scandinavians came in large numbers, significantly impacting Anglo-Saxon society, and the minimalists, who asserted that the numbers involved were relatively small and the impact was likewise small. Much of the work that has been done in this area has focused on England, especially the Danelaw and East Anglia leaving N.E. England and Scotland, especially the S.E. understudied.

The maximalist interpretation began with the work of E.W. Robertson, who proposed that the large number of sokemen, freemen who still had to attend their lord's court (National Archives n.d.), were unique to the Danes, and reflected a significantly large number of settlers (Robertson 1862, 134&135). Vinogradoff later argued:

> The remarkable congestion of these small freemen in the Danish districts, both in small farms or hamlets and in large villages, has evidently to be explained by the recent Danish conquest, which introduced large numbers of warriors of the here, who had after the settlement to provide for their own subsistence (Vinogradoff 1908, 417).

Sir Frank Stenton argued, largely on the basis of place-names, personal names and historical sources such as the *Domesday Book* or the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that the sokemen mentioned were descendants of the large

Scandinavian armies which settled in certain parts of England (Stenton 2004, 518&519). The result of this initial settlement in these areas was a dominant Danish influence which changed the social, political and economic landscape as English institutions were replaced by a new Danish system of social organisation unique to northern and eastern England (Stenton 2004, 513-521). Loyn also saw significant Scandinavian influence on place-names, language, institutions and law codes but doubted whether the freedom of the original Danish settlers survived into later times (Loyn 1977, 125,126,132). Dodwell argued for regional differences in social, political and economic organisation in part due to the number of Danish immigrants who settled in the different regions of England (Dodwell 1967).

2.3.02 Maximalist Position in relation to Northumbria

Little attention was given to Northumbria in these debates, though Morris, building on the work of Stenton and Craster's work on the patrimony of the Community of St Cuthbert, argued that historical, sculptural and place-name evidence indicated the presence of both Scandinavian lords and also Scandinavian peasant farmers who worked for Anglo-Saxon lords (Morris 1977) (Morris 1981). Morris revised his position somewhat in later years, stating that while he still favoured the arrival of Scandinavian peasant farmers, they did not necessarily come in large numbers (Morris 1984).

2.3.03 Minimalist Position

Though others had expressed their doubts, the maximalist position was challenged mainly through the works of R.H.C. Davis and Peter Sawyer. Davis, focusing on East Anglia, argued that historical sources indicated a limited Danish influence on society, with little lasting impact (Davis 1955). Danish influence occurred after settlement was said to have taken place, whilst sokemen pre-dated the arrival of the Danes, indicating that East Anglia was not settled by ordinary Danish soldiers (Davis 1955).

Sawyer argued against the maximalist position, contending that much of the evidence had been interpreted incorrectly, with Scandinavian place-names in England being the result of English men in the tenth century and later, who were familiar with elements of Old Norse and who bore Scandinavian names, rather than solely being created by the original Danish settlers of the ninth century and their descendants (Sawyer 1957).

Furthermore, Sawyer argued that Scandinavian place-names mainly appear in the tenth century not the ninth (Sawyer 1982, 103-107). Areas returned to English ownership by the beginning of the tenth century had few Scandinavian place-names indicating that such place-names occurred after the breaking up of the great estates, which took place in the tenth century and indicated no large scale Scandinavian settlement in the ninth century (Sawyer 1981).

Scandinavian armies were also relatively small in Sawyer's view, as he suggested, on the basis of seventh century legal documents, that the word '*here',* a reference to an army or a host, referred to a group of over thirty five hostile men, not the thousands that others had suggested (Williamson 2015, 76).

Sawyer's conclusions have not been accepted by all though, with some arguing that the Norman Conquest which had little impact on place-names was known to be carried out by warriors and lords numbering in the thousands and so the Scandinavian groups which had a significant impact on place-names must have been significantly greater (Hadley 2000a, 19). Others have rejected the comparison since the Norman Conquest introduced a few popular names which displaced Anglo-Saxon names, whereas the Scandinavian conquest introduced a greater number of varied Scandinavian names which coexisted along with those of Old English origin (Fellows-Jensen 1996).

2.3.04 Minimalist Position in relation to Northumbria

Though little work has been done in relation to N.E. England and S.E. Scotland, the minimalist position has gained more acceptance. Rollason concluded that there was a limited impact north of the Tees due to the short, unstable and violent reigns of the Anglo-Scandinavian kings of York (Rollason 2003, 218) and the continuing influences of the Community of St Cuthbert and the Northumbrian earls (Rollason 2003, 213). The evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity is "more sporadic and less intensive" (Rollason 2003, 212&213), suggesting:

> The political organization of the lands north of the Tees, their ethnic and cultural character were not radically altered. Even certain aspects of their political organization reflected, sometimes consciously, the former Kingdom of Northumbria (Rollason 2003, 249).

Events such as the period of wandering by the Community may disguise political motives, rather than reflecting Anglo-Scandinavian activity (Rollason 2003, 246&247).

The development of Christianity does not seem to have been interrupted and it seems to have remained the dominant cultural force (Rollason 2003, 237), though sculpture from major sites belonging to the Community of St Cuthbert, located north of the Tees, does show Scandinavian influence (Rollason 2003, 248). The vast majority of pre-conquest carvings around the Tees and to the south of the area are from the Anglo-Scandinavian period (Lang 1991, 32).

Place-name evidence has also been used to suggest a limited Anglo-Scandinavian impact. Scandinavian place-names in Britain come in three main forms. Firstly there are Grimston hybrids. These combine an Old Norse personal name with the Old English *'tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 1988/1989). Traditionally these have been seen as resulting from a new Danish lord acquiring an existing English settlement (Watts 1988/1989).Secondly there are those places which end in *'bý'*, the Old Norse word for farmstead or settlement (Watts 1988/1989). The final group are those place-names which have a different Old Norse element, for example, *'kirk'* derived from the Old Norse *'kirkja'* meaning church, *'toft'* meaning a building plot, *'garthr'* meaning an enclosure and *'thorp'* meaning village or farmstead (Watts 1988/1989).

Watts highlighted the evidence for Scandinavian settlement in parts of the Tees Valley and the possibility of Anglo-Scandinavian overlordship extending to the River Gaunless, but saw little evidence for Scandinavian settlement beyond

this (Watts 1988/89), with Scandinavian place-name evidence in Northumbria being practically non-existent (Watts 1995).

The sparsity of Scandinavian place-names north of the Tees may suggest that Scandinavian settlement was limited or that there was an Anglo-Scandinavian elite who decided not to impose new names on the settlements in their lands (Rollason 2003, 244). Documentary sources suggest that individuals may have been enfeoffed (Rollason 2003, 231). In south east Durham, the settlement of Sadberge, which derives from the Old Norse words *'sate'* and *'berg'* meaning flat topped hill (Watts 2001, 107), was referred to as a wapentake. Wapentakes, which literally mean *'weapon taking'*, were administrative centres founded by Danes who settled in England whereby men gave service to a lord in return for lands (Rollason 2003, 244). The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (hereafter HSC) recorded that Ragnall, king of Northumbria, granted lands to his military captains Scula and Onlafbal, following his victory at Corbridge (Johnson-South 2001, 61).

Sadberge is the only securely known wapentake north of the Tees but there are references to Bamburghshire being called a wapentake. Bateson recorded Bamburgh as a wapentake and based his conclusion on the letters sent between John de Carlele, William de Lackenby and Nicholas Rossels (Bateson 1893, 1). The letters date to 1369 and concern the administration of the wapentake of Bamburgh (Bateson 1893, 1). Due to the sporadic references to Bamburgh as a wapentake, this is probably an analogy rather than an accurate description (Anderson 1934, 22).

In the furthest northern reaches of Northumbria, the consensus is of limited impact (Rollason 2003, 244) (Watts 1995), with suggestions of settlement

being limited to refugees and their descendants rather than any large scale settlement (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 105).

Scandinavian place-names in this area are relatively sparse and have led some to suggest that the '*býr'* names among them result primarily from the presence of Scandinavians from the Danelaw in the late ninth and early tenth centuries (Fellows-Jensen 1989/90). Alternatively, the '*býr'* names could have been named by Scandinavians or individuals of Scandinavian descent from the Danelaw, who were brought to northern Northumbria by the kings and elites of Scotland in the period after the tenth century (Fellows-Jensen 1989/90).

Others have supported a tenth century date for individuals from the Danelaw to be active in Scotland (Taylor 2004) and noted that the '*býr'* place-names in S.E. Scotland appear in clusters, vary very little in terms of name and occur on land that after the tenth century was royal land (Taylor 2004). The study of a cluster of these names and their development would prove valuable (Taylor 2004). Furthermore, new avenues for understanding Scandinavian impact on the region will be opened up by searching for place-name elements such as the Gaelic word '*gall',* which means foreigner and was used as a reference to Scandinavians, rather than focusing on identifying Old Norse elements in place-names (Taylor 2004).

2.3.05 Conclusion about past debates on numbers and extent of presence

As has been noted, debates about the numbers and extent of Scandinavian settlers have largely ignored N.E. England and S.E. Scotland. Much of the work that had been done either focused on a single source of evidence or adopted ways

of identifying Anglo-Scandinavian material which are now being increasingly questioned.

The focus on the number of settlers and the extent of their presence was likely to be unfruitful. With regards to Bernicia, this is especially the case since historical sources are sparse and often ambiguous and place-names, sculpture and artefacts do not offer the opportunity to draw firm conclusions since it is often not clear how they can be interpreted in favour or against large or small numbers of settlers. Sites with sculpture could represent an extremely wealthy individual rather than a significant number of Anglo-Scandinavians. More generally, such an approach would likely produce an inaccurate picture as well as missing much information about the nature and complexities of interactions between Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons.

Whilst arguing about the numbers involved and the scale of Scandinavian settlement, many in these debates assumed that there was a clear Scandinavian identity which could be easily recognised in the archaeological record (Higham and Ryan 2013, 285). Recently, however this assumption has begun to be challenged and the divisions between Scandinavian settler and Anglo-Saxon local have been questioned.

Some have pointed out that ‘Viking’, a term that only came into usage in the English language in the nineteenth century, focuses on generic ideas about raiders and pirates, at the expense of other activities that Scandinavians carried out (Wilson 2008, 11). Though Anglo-Scandinavian and Viking diaspora have been suggested as alternatives, some see the common usage of the term ‘Viking’

for over two hundred years, as making it too valuable to abandon (Wilson 2008, 11).

Despite the wide usage and recognition that 'Viking' commands and therefore the difficulty in finding an alternative which would be accepted by all, especially the public, and which would have the universality of usage that 'Viking' does, it is necessary to find a replacement. Though there were commonalities and shared cultural traits between the Scandinavians of the eighth to eleventh centuries, there were also major differences.

Religious differences abounded within the Scandinavian world with the Scandinavian colonies converting to Christianity before the Scandinavian homelands (Vésteinsson 2014). Scandinavian religion seems to have been taken control of largely by the upper echelons of society, with the rest of the population relying on the protection of powerful ancestors or other guardian spirits (Sigurðsson 2014), suggesting little common religious identity. The conversion to Christianity also brought new roles with new meanings, again creating different and changing identities (Garipzanov 2014).

Ethnic identity also varied greatly among Scandinavians. In certain instances, it was deemed unnecessary to display any ethnic markers and in other instances, material was used to create new identities unlike those seen in Scandinavia (Vésteinsson 2014).

Furthermore, there seems to have been no Scandinavian unity but a range of competing allegiances resulting in different identities. Guthred worked with the Community of St Cuthbert whilst Ragnall worked against them, though he did grant land to Anglo-Saxons. Irish sources mentioned fighting between *'fair*

foreigners' and *'dark foreigners'*, with these labels possibly representing the followers of different political factions, both with different histories, and links to Ireland and elsewhere (Dumville 2008). The situation was much more complex than an ethnic conflict with '*dark foreigners'* representing a Danish faction and the *'fair foreigners'*, probably followers of the kings of *Laithlind* (Downham 2004) representing a Norwegian faction (Downham 2009).

Such differences point to the inappropriateness of 'Viking' as anything but a broad umbrella term. An alternative is clearly needed and as will be shown, there are varying views on what influenced identity and what the best terminology to employ would be.

2.4 New Debates: Identity and Terminology

2.4.01 Problems with the term 'Viking'

The term 'Viking' is one of many different terms used to describe the Scandinavians active in the eighth to eleventh centuries (Griffiths 2010, 14) and especially in reference to those who carried out acts of raiding, pillaging and settlement in the British Isles, France and other parts of north western Europe (McLeod 2013). 'Viking' is often used interchangeably with other terms such as Norse, Scandinavian, Dane and Norwegian (Griffiths 2010, 14), making its meaning even more unclear. The activities and artefacts associated with 'Viking' culture are also referred to in broad and general terms which are often unhelpful. Such terms include Pre-Conquest, which in England and other areas is just a

reference to the century when the activity or artefact dates from (Wilson 2008, 11&12).

Researchers have therefore devoted a significant amount of time and work in answering the question of whether it is possible to accurately define the term 'Viking' and if not, which alternatives provide the best understanding of Scandinavian presence in north western Europe in the eighth and eleventh centuries.

'Viking', according to some, is of little use to scholars, given its inappropriate use as a vague blanket term for a diverse group of people, which implies that Scandinavian settlers in Britain between the eighth and eleventh centuries were part of a homogenous culture with a shared common identity (Hadley 2006, 83). The meaning of 'Viking' is ambiguous, with it not being clear whether the term refers to an ethnicity or more plausibly the activities of certain groups of men (Brink 2008). Moreover, 'Viking' misrepresents what was a very complex issue, simplifying the identities of the Scandinavian incomers when in fact their identities ranged from group to group as factors such as age, social status and competing allegiances all came into effect (Hadley 2006, 83).

Within the various groups that arrived in Britain, there were complex interactions of identity. In certain instances, the incoming groups would have been confused with the native peoples who had decided to join them (Hadley 2006, 83). In addition, these groups varied from region to region (Hadley 2006, 83).

2.4.02 Complexities of identities and factors contributing to identity

Through a study of '*li*ðs', which were smaller war bands that came together to form larger armies, the complexities of identity are shown. *'Liðs'* were most likely groups of warriors who served a leader in return for food, shelter and plunder. Though the size of these groups could vary significantly (Raffield et al 2016) each group may have been formed and held together by two processes known as ingroup identification and identity fusion (Raffield et al 2016). Ingroup identification is the association of individuals with other individuals who are part of a social group with distinguishing characteristics (Raffield et al 2016). Identity fusion is where emotional relationships develop among group members so that they act as if they were family (Raffield et al 2016). Archaeological and historical evidence suggests that *'liðs'* could have been based on familial relations or could have been composed of individuals with no common social status and could even contain in its ranks non-'Viking' individuals - often people from the territories that the 'Vikings' were raiding (Raffield et al 2016). There was often no one single factor that linked these different warbands but instead a range of different identities varying from warband to warband.

A range of factors have been suggested as having influenced the identity of the Scandinavian incomers to the British Isles between the eighth and eleventh centuries.

2.4.03 Political Influence on Identity

Scandinavian identity, according to some, was greatly influenced by contemporary political and regional circumstances (Ten Harkel 2006). During the initial period of contact, the ethnic, religious and cultural differences that separated Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon were clear (Ten Harkel 2006). The separation was not permanent and political circumstances could change, necessitating variations in the display of ethnic identities as well as the adoption of local customs and practices to various degrees (Ten Harkel 2006). The most prominent of these adoptions was the conversion of the Scandinavian pagans to Christianity (Ten Harkel 2006).

Political circumstances could vary between regions resulting in different displays of ethnic identities and different levels of assimilation (Ten Harkel 2006). The pagan Scandinavians of the West-Frankish realm took the step of converting to Christianity in order to preserve themselves politically (Ten Harkel 2006). Such a step was not as crucial to take in southern Northumbria, where the Anglo-Saxon nobility did not have the ascendancy which would have allowed them to hasten the Scandinavians' conversion to Christianity (Ten Harkel 2006). Northumbria's political elite faced the threat of an England united under West-Saxon rule (Ten Harkel 2006). With this threat in mind, the ruling elite chose largely not to interfere with the Scandinavian incomers, the result being that the area ruled by the Kingdom of York was subject to heavy Scandinavian influence and an Anglo-Scandinavian identity was created (Ten Harkel 2006).

There has been a move away from homogenous ethnic identities and instead a focus on "a new social dimension in which people's actions, routines,

and identities are altered in order to negotiate and thrive within the new cultural landscape" (Buchanan 2012). Ethnic identity played a relatively minor role in the interactions between locals and newcomers (Hadley 2002) with political and cultural identities being manipulated by elites, resulting in new identities being formed and used (Hadley 2002). This approach was developed by Geary who had earlier argued that early medieval identity was subject to constant changes, as individuals identified with different groups depending on their purposes and situation (Hadley 2011). There was no uniform or set outcome in terms of identity (Hadley 2002) but variation between regions and within regions as the different social, political and economic factors at play interacted with each other and were manipulated in various ways, producing a variety of identities (Hadley 2002).

2.4.04 Scandinavian Influence on Identity

Other scholars have focused on the role that Scandinavian identity and culture played in forming new identities. Whilst certain models have focused on the coming together of cultures, scholars such as Abrams focus specifically on Scandinavian identity and how it was used (Abrams 2012). Rejecting models in which Scandinavian culture suddenly left Scandinavia and entered the countries of Western Europe until it was finally subsumed within their cultures and others in which the Scandinavian settlers held rigidly to the old practices and customs of Scandinavia, Abrams argues for a dynamic Scandinavian identity which was moulded and shaped by individuals, activities and events (Abrams 2012).

What is seen is that:

> For several centuries raiding, trading, and land-taking stimulated new ways of doing things with Scandinavian culture in new environments, and this sometimes involved stressing, not abandoning, Scandinavian ancestry and exploiting selective elements of Scandinavian culture; arguably, Scandinavian identity could therefore at times have been strengthened by the raiding or immigrant experience. Whether flaunted, adapted, disguised, or quickly rejected, Scandinavian culture was a dynamic factor in the history of assimilation (Abrams 2012).

This view has been adopted by others who have argued that the Scandinavians' ethnic and cultural identities had many layers and facets (Downham 2012). The incoming Scandinavians adapted to local circumstances whilst also "maintaining a trans-national network through claims to common Scandinavian ancestry" (Downham 2012), "reflected in consciously maintained cultural traits and origin legends" (Downham 2012).

Jewellery has been another area of study where there has been an emphasis on the use of artefacts to display a distinctive Scandinavian affiliation and identity (Kershaw 2013, 216). Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon artistic traditions differed greatly in their key elements, with Scandinavian art portraying extravagant beasts and complicated geometric schemes (Kershaw 2013, 229) whilst Anglo-Saxon art adopted a style of animals with a somewhat more natural form and focused more on floral patterns and contemporary Anglo-Saxon styles (Kershaw 2013, 229). The result of these differences was that "Via their distinct

forms and new art styles, Scandinavian brooches were therefore well placed to articulate social differences and mark out a distinct Scandinavian cultural affiliation" (Kershaw 2013, 229).

To see this Scandinavian identity as an all-encompassing homogenous identity would be a misrepresentation and in reality, whilst there were shared, common features of cultural identity, there were also regional differences and variations, recognisable and associable to the different inhabitants of different regions.

The Scandinavian identity did not always remain separate and distinct and there were instances where both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon culture came together to create what many have termed an Anglo-Scandinavian identity. Yet again though, even in this instance, Anglo-Scandinavian identity is seen as the result of the Anglo-Saxons adopting and copying Scandinavian practices and styles rather than of Scandinavians assimilating and adopting Anglo-Saxon practices (Kershaw 2013, 158).

This process of adopting Scandinavian styles and material culture can be seen in the variation of brooches found. Though the local Anglo-Saxons were unacquainted with the form and designs of Scandinavian brooches, such brooches, bearing Scandinavian style and motifs often on an Anglo-Saxon brooch form appear to have been produced in large quantities in the Danelaw (Kershaw 2013, 229). Anglo-Scandinavian brooches often shared most of the features of Scandinavian brooches, so that the two could not be visually distinguished from one another and that the insular Anglo-Saxon origins can only be seen in their form and pin fittings (Kershaw 2013, 229).

Such large quantities of Scandinavian and Scandinavian inspired jewellery, indicates two possible conclusions. Areas where large numbers of pieces of jewellery occurred, point to large numbers of Scandinavian women dressed in traditional Scandinavian attire (Kershaw 2013, 219). Secondly, Anglo-Scandinavian brooches and their popularity reveal a desire on the part of indigenous Anglo-Saxon women and women of Scandinavian descent to emulate the new incoming Scandinavian style of dress (Kershaw 2013, 219).

Some have seen this emphasis on Scandinavian identity as not going far enough, arguing for the importance of various local and regional cultures that were present in Scandinavia between the eight and eleventh centuries (Svanberg 2003, 5). Historical sources reflect this regional and local diversity. Orosius in his History of the 890s distinguishes between North Dane, South Dane and Northman (Downham 2012), whilst the sixth century historian Jordanes reported twenty eight different population groups in his description of Scandinavia (Downham 2012). Indeed in Scandinavia during this period, there are a range of local burial practices, with variation often occurring at the level of villages and even farmsteads (Price 2008).

2.4.05 Conclusion about political and Scandinavian Influence

Whilst there are many positives to these approaches, and the role of Scandinavian identity and culture should not be underplayed, there is the risk of marginalising the role of the host culture and the part it played in the Scandinavians' assimilation and adoption of its culture. In terms of local identities, it has been argued that while many Scandinavians undoubtedly

identified with their home regions, they were aware of and similarly identified with entities spread across many regions (McLeod 2008). These entities were geographically based rather than being politically based and references to individuals belonging to these entities were made by both Scandinavians and non-Scandinavians (McLeod 2008). Runic inscriptions from Scandinavia record individuals with titles such as '*Ketill the Norwegian'*, whilst others, make references to Norwegians, Danes or Swedes (McLeod 2008), suggesting awareness and association with more than just a local identity.

Furthermore in certain circumstances, Scandinavian identity was downplayed, perhaps in situations where Scandinavians were in the minority. This does not seem to be the result of Scandinavian culture and identity but rather the culture and beliefs of the host society. The conversion to Christianity provides a prime example of this. Scandinavia was largely unaffected by Christianity at the beginning of the eighth century when the Scandinavians began to come into closer contact with the cultures of Western Europe. Given that Christianity was a major force in the Western European societies and that conversion to Christianity was largely required for social acceptance and advancement, it would perhaps be more plausible in certain instances to say that the host culture played the prominent role in forming identities, since it was their beliefs that ultimately seemed to have caused the conversions.

Guthred's election came as a result of his agreement with the Community of St Cuthbert and later Anglo-Scandinavian rulers in Britain would be baptised, showing the importance of Christianity in forming identities. Ragnall seems to have been in a relatively strong position in terms of power and so therefore felt no need to renounce his paganism, perhaps indicating the role played by political circumstances in the forming of identities. The host culture was not always the more influential of the two cultures and in reality there seem to have been a range of different interactions and identities, all shaped by the various circumstances of the time.

2.5 Alternatives to 'Viking'

2.5.01 Hybrid Identities and Viking diaspora

Out of these discussions, two main alternatives to the term 'Viking' have been proposed. The first option is what has been termed hybrid identities, such as Anglo-Scandinavian or Hiberno-Norse, and which focus on the role played by both the host culture and the culture of the incoming Scandinavians.

Anglo-Scandinavian is the most relevant hybrid identity to this study and so will be the focus of examination. The other alternative is the term Viking diaspora. Both terms, as well as their advantages and disadvantages, will be examined, before concluding which term represents the most appropriate and accurate alternative to 'Viking'.

2.5.02 Hybrid Identities – Definition, Application and Proponents

Proponents of an Anglo-Scandinavian identity have argued against both a common, shared identity of the Scandinavian incomers and a single, shared Anglo-Scandinavian identity (Richards 2011). What has been proposed is that the identities of the settlers, whilst being Anglo-Scandinavian, varied from individual to individual (Richards 2011). The interaction of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon identities and material culture did not create a homogenous identity; rather each identity was influenced by factors unique to its situation (Richards 2011). Anglo-Scandinavian can therefore be defined as the use of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian material culture to portray an identity based on the situation, circumstances and context of the time (Richards 2011).

Drawing on a range of evidence from historical sources, place-names and the archaeological record, proponents of hybrid identities have demonstrated the range of factors that played a role in forming the identities of the Scandinavian settlers and how labelling the settlers as 'Viking' risks simplifying a very complex issue (Richards 2011). The backgrounds of the Scandinavian settlers in England were often varied. Whilst some did travel to England directly from Scandinavia, others arrived having spent time in Continental Europe or in Ireland (Richards 2011). Upon arrival, they often married local women, creating new Anglo-Scandinavian identities, which can be seen in the formation of new personal names (Richards 2011) which did not appear in Scandinavia at that time (Richards 2011). As well as inter-marrying with the local population, the settlers were active in forming alliances with a range of different individuals or organisations resulting in Anglo-Scandinavian social status being displayed in a variety of ways (Richards 2011).

Sculpture demonstrates the flexibility and diverse range of identities produced during the interaction of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon cultures, since carved stone, an Anglian tradition largely unknown in Scandinavia, often displayed Scandinavian styles and iconographies. Such sculpture was often found associated with monastic or church sites, probably created under the patronage of wealthy merchants, as Scandinavians began to associate themselves with the Church due to its role in their social advancement. Sculpture from sites such as Sockburn or Chester-le-Street, discussed later, are good examples of such cultural interactions.

Cultural interactions were present at all levels of society not just the elite, and recently metal detection has been finding items of personal adornment in increasingly large numbers (Higham and Ryan 2013, 293). Brooches from Norfolk incorporate the Scandinavian Borre style whilst having the Anglo-Saxon flat form (Higham and Ryan 2013, 293) and their recovery in large quantities, spanning a significant period of time(Kershaw 2009) indicates cultural interactions at all levels of society, producing numerous identities (Higham and Ryan 2013, 293).

What is seen is that:

> incoming peoples frequently responded to local circumstances by appropriating aspects of local language, culture, and behaviour. The label Anglo-Scandinavian disguises a host of interactions played out within every household and market at local level (Richards 2011).

2.5.03 Disadvantages of Hybrid Identities

Criticisms of Anglo-Scandinavian and hybrid identities more generally can be made. Whilst recognising that the process of making new identities involved the presence of both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon cultures, the wording of the term seems to initially suggest a formulaic and predictable outcome to the mixing of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon cultures. Furthermore, using broad terms such as Anglo or Scandinavian provides little further information about the identities of individuals than do other terms in current usage. The range of identities formed in this period of study would share features of both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian culture but to take these shared elements and create a term which categorises the full range of these identities under one title is misleading. Similarly, the term does not seem to account for situations where a Scandinavian fully adopts Anglo-Saxon customs and practice or where an Anglo-Saxon fully adopts Scandinavian customs and practice, which was a plausible situation. Proponents of the term have argued that it is the best term to describe the variety of different identities that resulted from the differing political, social, economic and regional factors affecting the interactions between settlers and locals.

Related to this is the fact that it can be argued that Anglo-Scandinavian places too much emphasis on the recognition of common features of both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon cultures in the archaeological record. Awareness of national identities was important but seems to have focused on single nations rather than collections of nations such as Scandinavia. Regional identities were also of importance. Ohthere the merchant referred to himself as '*Ohthere of Hålogaland'*, a district of northern Norway (McLeod 2008) and Anglo-Saxon

kingdoms, whilst sharing similarities also had significant differences, with the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Northumbria being viewed as a separate people with distinct customs and identities (Holford, King and Liddy 2007).

Critics have also pointed out that hybrid identities such as Anglo-Scandinavian imply, identities formed from two distinctive cultures (Abrams 2012), leaving little room for individuals who may have spent time in other societies in addition to Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian ones. Furthermore, it is unclear whether Anglo-Scandinavian refers to:

> an English population under a viking regime, of settlers of Scandinavian origin in England, of a mixed population of migrants and natives? Or of Scandinavians who have been in England and returned home with exotic new habits? (Abrams 2012).

2.5.04 Advantages of Hybrid Identities

Though legitimate criticisms can be made of hybrid identities, such terms are still of value. The notion that hybrid identities indicate a formulaic outcome to cultural interaction is perhaps unfair and inaccurate since it seems rather improbable that there would be a word suitable to accurately describe every single cultural outcome and identity. The term Viking diaspora does not seem to indicate any new cultural identities but seemingly suggests the continuation and dominance of 'Viking' culture, which is known not to be the case. Viking diaspora would seem to be more relevant to areas such as Iceland where there was

no indigenous culture, rather than to England, with its established culture and society. Anglo-Scandinavian acknowledges the range of identities and interactions that took place, whilst providing a description which reflects common factors shared by the inhabitants of their respective areas. The focus on local or regional identities is not unjustified but too much emphasis on these identities runs the risk of neglecting the shared aspects among the Scandinavian cultures as well as those that were shared between the different cultures in Anglo-Saxon England.

Labelling Anglo-Scandinavian as ambiguous misunderstands the flexibility of the term. Since Anglo-Scandinavian is defined as the use of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian material culture to portray an identity based on the situation, circumstances and context of the time (Richards 2011), it applies to both the Anglo-Saxon adoption of Scandinavian practices and the Scandinavian adoption of Anglo-Saxon practices. Both situations show cultures impacting each other. Anglo-Scandinavian is the most flexible and accurate term. It can be used to describe diverse situations such as sculpture which incorporated both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian iconographies, created during Guthred's reign when the relationship between the Community of St Cuthbert and the Scandinavians was strong and the possible post-mortem penance burial of Olaf Guthfrithson at Auldhame after raiding the monastic site there. Guthfrithson's burial, which is discussed later, may show an acknowledgement of Anglo-Saxon and Christian beliefs whilst also retaining elements highlighting Scandinavian elite identity. How Viking diaspora could be used to accurately describe both these situations is not clear.

Unlike other terms, Anglo-Scandinavian is a flexible term recognising both the common features but also the lack of dominating uniformity in terms of identity and culture among Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. Emphasis is placed on political, social and economic interactions, not on ethnic identities, which played a minor role.

2.5.05 Viking Diaspora – Definition, Application, Proponents and Advantages

The other alternative to 'Viking' is Viking diaspora. It is argued that the term indicates that those who left Scandinavia and settled elsewhere, retained elements of the culture of their homelands but also interacted with and adopted elements of the cultures they encountered (Jesch 2015, 68), allowing for a situation where the Scandinavian incomers were regarded as religiously, culturally and social different but changed their identities until such distinctions were no longer noticeable (Ten Harkel 2006).

Like Anglo-Scandinavian, it can also be argued that Viking diaspora provides flexibility, recognising that cultural identities varied depending on where was settled. Ireland, Iceland and England would have all differed in their settlement experience, and diaspora is a broad enough term to encompass these different experiences and situations where individuals may have come to England from Scandinavia via Ireland. Anglo-Scandinavian would seem to suggest for example that Scandinavians from Ireland did not retain any elements of Irish culture when they arrived in England but rather immediately became Anglo-Scandinavian. This does not seem to be a fully accurate representation of the cultural identities of Scandinavians in England.

Finally, Viking diaspora may go someway to recognising the different levels of interaction and different identities produced. For example, one object may be heavily influenced by Scandinavian culture with little Anglo-Saxon influence, whereas another may have equal parts Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon and Gaelic influence. This is not apparent with the term Anglo-Scandinavian and the flexibility of the terminology is limited. Viking diaspora recognises that the Scandinavians settled in different locations and brought a range of cultural influences together, creating new identities (Jesch 2015, 80).

2.5.06 Disadvantages of Viking Diaspora

Viking diaspora is limited in its value as a description, due largely to its use of 'Viking' which brings many problems including the treatment of the Scandinavians between the eighth and eleventh centuries as a homogenous group, the incorrect use of the term 'Viking' as an ethnic label and also the modern connotations that go with the term 'Viking' discussed earlier. Furthermore, there seems to be no clear definition of the term but rather the application of the characteristics of the term diaspora to 'Viking' which as has been mentioned previously is a vague and unhelpful term. Additionally, the characteristics of a diaspora are not always relevant to the different Scandinavian colonies. The characteristics of a diaspora are outlined in Table 1.

Characteristic	Source of Information
Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically	Jesch 2015, 71&72
An alternative to the traumatic dispersal is the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions	Jesch 2015, 72
A collective memory and myth about the homeland	Jesch 2015, 72&73
An idealization of the supposed ancestral home	Jesch 2015, 73&74
A return movement or at least a continuing conversation	Jesch 2015, 74&75
A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time	Jesch 2015, 75-77
A troubled relationship with host societies	Jesch 2015, 77&78
A sense of co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries	Jesch 2015, 78&79
The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries	Jesch 2015, 79&80

Table 1 – Features of a Viking diaspora

The flexibility offered by the term comes at the cost of being able to use more specific identities to describe the various groups who would be classified as belonging to the Viking diaspora. The term provides little more information about individual identities. Despite the criticisms made of hybrid identities and their supposed inability to account for different cultural influences, Viking diaspora does not provide a clearer picture of these cultural interactions but in fact seems to be less reflective of them. Labelling an artefact as belonging to the Viking diaspora provides no further understanding of the cultural interactions and perhaps makes it unclear. It is not clear from the term, that for example, an individual from Scandinavia went to Ireland and then to England. The term seems to be broader and less able to accurately reflect the cultures involved than terms such as Anglo-Scandinavian. Local identities were not always appropriate as

outlined earlier and Anglo-Scandinavian seems to be the best lowest common denominator for understanding cultural identities.

Additionally, if Viking diaspora is reflective of the range of different interactions and identities, it does not seem that one term is appropriate to accurately reflect these interactions and identities. Viking diaspora is used to describe Scandinavians in a wide range of places from England, France, Iceland and Greenland in the west to Russia and the Middle East. Whilst there were similarities between the Scandinavian experiences in these areas, there were also great differences. As outlined earlier, religious differences and displays of ethnic identities differed significantly between Scandinavian colonies and homelands, and the use of one term to describe all these experiences does not seem justified. Indeed there were even differences in Scandinavian experience in different regions of these places. Hogbacks displaying Scandinavian influence for example are largely restricted to southern Northumbria, with only one in northern Northumbria, suggesting different Scandinavian experiences in these areas. Hybrid identities such as Anglo-Scandinavian seem to go further in recognising the differing nature of cultural interactions and better reflect the different identities produced in different places. Unlike Viking diaspora, which makes no clear reference to the cultures involved, hybrid identities are culture specific.

Furthermore, the term diaspora is not always appropriate. Diaspora would seem to be a more appropriate term to apply to situations such as the settlement of Iceland, where by and large there was no existing population, or Greenland, where the Scandinavians do not seem to have interacted with the indigenous culture and society. In both these instances, Iceland and Greenland, there were no existing structures for the Scandinavians to use and so they had to rely on the

Scandinavian homelands to help build a society in these places, hence why links to Scandinavia may have been stronger. In contrast, in the British Isles, the Scandinavians encountered a society quite similar to their own, which they could work within and consequently there was less need to form and maintain links with Scandinavia. This is not to say that as soon as Scandinavians entered Britain they discarded their own culture but rather that they used their culture within Anglo-Saxon society as appropriate, instead of continually having their culture reinforced by links to Scandinavia. Indeed historical sources and the archaeological evidence for much of Northumbria suggest little about links to Scandinavia by Scandinavians and it seems even less certain that links to Scandinavia were actively sought to reinforce Scandinavian culture rather than coming about simply through trade. Furthermore, if there were a diaspora, it may be expected that attempts at promoting Scandinavian unity would have occurred. Ragnall's grants of lands to Anglo-Saxons, perhaps at the expense of Anglo-Scandinavians and Guthred's working with the Community of St Cuthbert perhaps hint at a willingness to work with whoever would prove most beneficial, rather than attempting to create Scandinavian unity.

2.5.07 Identity Conclusion - The Best Alternative to 'Viking'

Despite its problems, the hybrid identity of Anglo-Scandinavian and hybrid identities in general seem to offer the most accurate alternative to 'Viking'. No one term can fully describe the range of identities and interactions with complete accuracy. Anglo-Scandinavian best reflects the range of identities and interactions unlike Viking diaspora which does not seem to give any clear

indicator of the cultures involved, other than the Scandinavian culture and then the emphasis is on the Scandinavian culture as the dominant and influential culture, which was not always the case. The hybrid identity Anglo-Scandinavian also avoids the problems associated with the term 'Viking'. Finally it seems to be the more appropriate terminology for the British Isles since links to and influence from Scandinavia is not always clear and so it would be hard to label the Scandinavian presence in Britain, at least parts of it, as a diaspora.

2.6 Overall Conclusion

This literature review has demonstrated the need for an alternative to 'Viking' and has suggested at present that hybrid identities, namely Anglo-Scandinavian, offer the best alternative. N.E. England and S.E. Scotland have largely been excluded in the new works on identity and so it is therefore necessary to look at the evidence from these regions in order to identify what it suggests about identity.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to further an understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland between the eighth and eleventh centuries and the impact it had. What follows are explanations of the methods of data collection and why they were chosen, the methods of data analysis and why they are the most appropriate and any limitations or problems that could have occurred and how they were avoided or minimised to an acceptable level.

3.2 Data Collection

The collection of data was from secondary sources. There were a number of reasons for limiting data collection to secondary sources. It has been a consensus among scholars that the Scandinavians did not venture particularly far north into the Kingdom of Northumbria with the River Tees acting as a marker of the Scandinavians' northern limits (Rollason 2003, 244) (Watts 1995). Consequently, little work has been done on Anglo-Scandinavian presence north of the Tees. The work that has been was not multi-disciplinary resulting in a distorted picture. Finds from the *PAS* have been recorded as individual finds, with no overall study of these artefacts. This valuable resource was in need of study.

Furthermore the belief about the Scandinavians' northern limits (Rollason 2003, 244) has meant that the recent work relating to the term 'Viking' and 'Viking' identity has focused on other areas of Britain, meaning the area north of

the Tees is still subject to inaccurate and outdated ways of identifying possible Anglo-Scandinavian material culture.

Collection of primary data for this project would have been both impractical and difficult to carry out. There is no accurate and up to date picture of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the Kingdom of Northumbria, so collecting primary data would have provided more data when what was needed was an overview of the current state of knowledge. Once this overview had been provided and an understanding put in place, future work could build on this project, and primary data could be sought. Furthermore, the collection of primary data at this stage would prove to be unfruitful due to the current lack of understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the study region, meaning there are no obvious sites for excavation. Searching for new burials or new historical documents would produce little if anything, with this process taking too long and requiring resources which are not available for this project. Any future evidence found would likely be insufficient to base a study on and the current secondary data would again form the bulk of the project. Finally, the *PAS* records finds by members of the public. As such, it has no framework for actively searching for specific cultural artefacts in specific regions and does not offer the opportunity for primary data collection at a project level.

The current lack of understanding meant that using secondary data as opposed to primary data would provide the best results, producing a framework that future studies could be built upon.

To collect data, relevant secondary sources were identified. For evidence such as burials, the identification of the relevant literature was straightforward due to the small number of burials and therefore literature on the topic. Other

types of evidence, such as small finds, sculpture and place-names were more numerous. The primary data on these topics had often been recorded as part of a national scheme and was not specifically focused on the Scandinavians and so it was these nationwide programmes that were initially consulted. Such schemes include the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture series*, the *PAS* and the works of the English Place-Name Society. Once these had been identified, the relevant regional works were identified.

Within these regional works a broad approach was taken to the initial data collection. For sculpture and small finds, items which had traditionally been classified as 'Viking' were included, as were items which were from the eighth to eleventh centuries and which may have had possible connections to Scandinavia. For the broadest possible coverage, a number of different search terms, including 'Viking', Scandinavian, Anglo-Scandinavian, Danish, Norwegian and Norse were employed. This minimised the risk of any evidence being missed. For place-names, names with any element from Old Norse, Old Danish and Old Scandinavian were initially collected regardless of the date when they were first recorded or whether or not they had other more preferable etymologies which did not include these languages.

Once this initial data collection had been completed, the data was filtered so that only the data which provided evidence of potential Anglo-Scandinavian presence was left. There were a number of filters depending on the category of evidence. Place-names were removed if they had an alternative etymology which was more likely than an Old Norse, Old Danish or Old Scandinavian one. Additionally, place-names were possibly removed if they were recorded too late, meaning it was uncertain whether the place-name had been named by members of

the Scandinavian community or by other later individuals. The later the place-name was recorded the more uncertain it was that it was named by Scandinavians between the eighth and eleventh centuries.

For sculpture and small finds, items such as hogbacks which had traditionally been classified as 'Viking' were reassessed. This reassessment was carried out on other traditionally 'Viking' artefacts. The age of the find was another filtering factor, with some artefacts possibly dating from the early twelfth century being removed, as they were outside the chronological limits of the project. Items which displayed elements of Anglo-Scandinavian culture were retained for data collection because although they may suggest influence or trade, they may also suggest the presence of members of an Anglo-Scandinavian community. A similar questioning of traditional ways of identifying 'Viking' burials was also carried out. Burials with grave goods were rejected as being a deciding factor in identifying 'Viking' burials and instead evidence such as Anglo-Scandinavian artefacts or links to areas with known Anglo-Scandinavian presence was used.

Collection of secondary data and the reason for this were outlined earlier. These relate to the lack of study and specifically interdisciplinary study of Anglo-Scandinavian presence north of the Tees. The study of secondary data would provide an understanding and context for new evidence to be integrated into.

The initial broad approach to identifying material was appropriate, minimising the risk of items being missed, which would have affected the results of this project and consequently the understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian

presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland. In addition to the initial broad approach to what constituted Anglo-Scandinavian material culture, a multi-disciplinary approach was taken including evidence from the archaeological record, historical sources and place-names. This provided the clearest and fullest picture. The initial broad data collection and the subsequent filtering reflected recent developments in the understanding of the term 'Viking', the alternatives to it and how identifying these in the archaeological record have changed the understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in Britain.

3.3 Framework for data analysis

The first stage of analysis was theoretical. A theoretical framework had to be established to filter and find the secure evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian presence. This theoretical framework was focused on terminology. The term Anglo-Scandinavian was seen as representing the best term for describing the Scandinavian settlers of the eighth to eleventh centuries and consequently the best way of identifying their material culture and presence in the archaeological record. The debate about terminology and why Anglo-Scandinavian represented the best term was outlined in the literature review.

After the data had been filtered, the remaining evidence which was suitable for plotting was plotted on Google Earth. The study region was broken up into three different regions, the Tees Valley and southern County Durham, which reflected the area most influenced by the Anglo-Scandinavian Kingdom of York, northern County Durham and southern Northumberland, which reflected the heartlands of the Community of St Cuthbert and northern Northumberland and

south eastern Scotland, which reflected the lands of earldom of Northumbria.

The evidence for these regions was then plotted so that there were three different plots of evidence corresponding to each region. Plotting all the different types of evidence rather than plotting each type on its own individual plot gave the fullest, clearest and easiest to understand picture allowing links to be made between the different types of evidence. By plotting the evidence region by region, factors which could have affected Anglo-Scandinavian presence, such as the role of the Community of St Cuthbert could be seen. Furthermore, patterns within regions were identified which improved analysis as links could be made between these patterns rather than them remaining a series of individual sites or finds. Finally, this approach also offered the opportunity to compare the evidence from different regions allowing further analysis on issues such as why Anglo-Scandinavian presence occurs in unexpected areas.

Historical sources were used to create a framework of landholding patterns and important sites before the Scandinavians' arrival. The evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence was inserted into this framework, allowing the potential impact that the Scandinavians had on Anglo-Saxon society, such as estate fragmentation or the taking of land, to be analysed.

3.4 Limitations and potential problems

This project has taken a fair and consistent approach throughout. When analysing the most appropriate terminology to describe the Scandinavians in Britain during the eighth to eleventh centuries and therefore provide a theoretical framework for identifying such material in the archaeological record, different

perspectives on this matter were considered with their advantages and disadvantages judged fairly. This provided the most accurate terminology and therefore, the most accurate picture of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland.

During the data collections, the data was collected from neutral sources such as the *PAS*. Any items which had wrongly been classified as Anglo-Scandinavian were removed in the filtering process. When searching for data, a variety of search terms were employed in order that initially the broadest range of data was supplied, meaning that little if anything was missed from this collection. Visits to sites or museums where collections were held were anticipated and prepared well in advance in order to ensure that any relevant data or information was collected and that issues relating to lack of time did not affect the project and its conclusions. The material used in this project was largely derived from literature or online sources and no ethical issues arose as a result of this. Where it was applicable, sources of data such as the *PAS*, which are updated when a new find is recorded, were checked weekly in order to ensure that no piece of evidence was excluded and that a distorted image of Anglo-Scandinavian presence was not provided. New items were added to the project's data set when found on websites such as the *PAS* site.

The term Anglo-Scandinavian followed an approach that reflected the flexibility of cultural interactions and identities, encompassing all possible identities that were created in the interactions between Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon culture. This wide ranging approach meant that the evidence was not constricted by narrow approaches and definitions but was allowed to speak for itself. This would not have been possible with other terminologies. During the

filtering process, each piece of evidence was judged individually to see whether it suggested the presence of Anglo-Scandinavians. The weight of evidence applied to each item was consistent throughout the process. The evidence was subject to consistent scrutiny throughout the project, especially in light of any new evidence or developments that would impact its classification as evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, once the filtered data was plotted, the areas of significance or patterns that emerged were investigated. The historical framework allowed an analysis of the form that Anglo-Scandinavian presence may have taken and the impact that it had on Anglo-Saxon society.

The measures taken in this project were appropriate ensuring that both the data and conclusions were accurate and representative. All steps taken have been aimed at providing the clearest picture possible of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland between the eighth and eleventh centuries.

4. Data Collection

This chapter presents the evidence for possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland. Anglo-Scandinavian is defined as the use of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian material culture to portray an identity based on the situation, circumstances and context of the time (Richards 2011).

The geographical study area covers N.E. England – modern day County Durham, Tyne and Wear and Northumberland and also S.E. Scotland - Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, Midlothian, East Lothian, West Lothian and Berwickshire. The time period covered is the era traditionally referred to as the 'Viking Age', the period from the eighth to eleventh century. The data takes the form of place-names, sculpture, burials and finds from the archaeological record, mainly small finds recorded from the *PAS*. It would not be appropriate to include the variety of quotations from historical sources that may provide evidence of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the N.E. England and S.E. Scotland. Doing so would largely result in an unorganised list of quotations which would be of little use. Rather historical sources are used and mentioned as and when appropriate. The key historical sources for this period and region were mentioned earlier in the literature review.

A broad approach has been taken to identifying possible traces of Anglo-Scandinavian presence. This approach has taken into account evidence that is traditionally associated with the incoming Scandinavians such as place-names ending in *'býʼ*. Other traditional types of evidence such as 'hogback stones' have not been included unless they have specific characteristics which may mark them out as having possible links to Anglo-Scandinavian culture. Such an approach

reflects recent shifts in the scholarship of these monuments. The result of this approach is an up to date and accurate overview of possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the region, based on evidence with clear links to Anglo-Scandinavian culture.

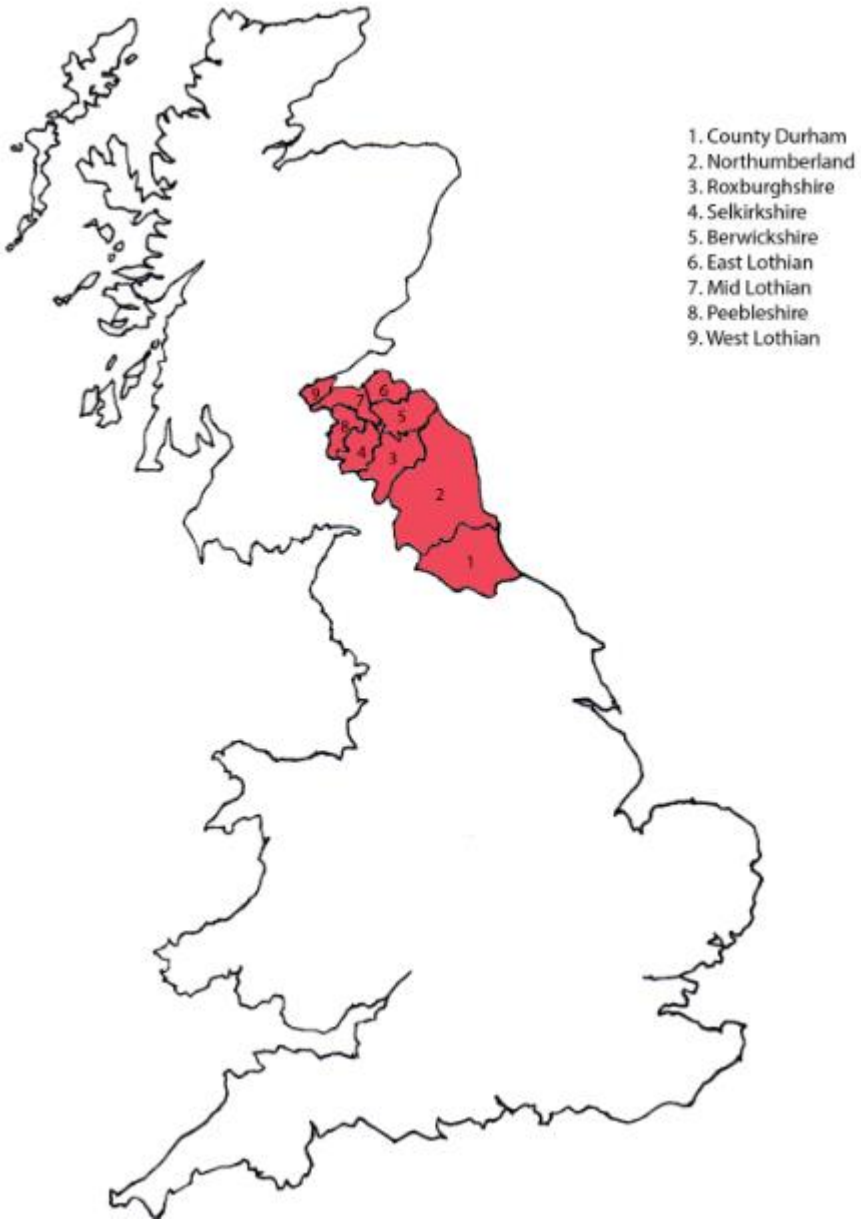

Figure 1 – *Map showing the counties in the study region*. Tyne and Wear is located within Northumberland.

4.1 Tees Valley and southern County Durham

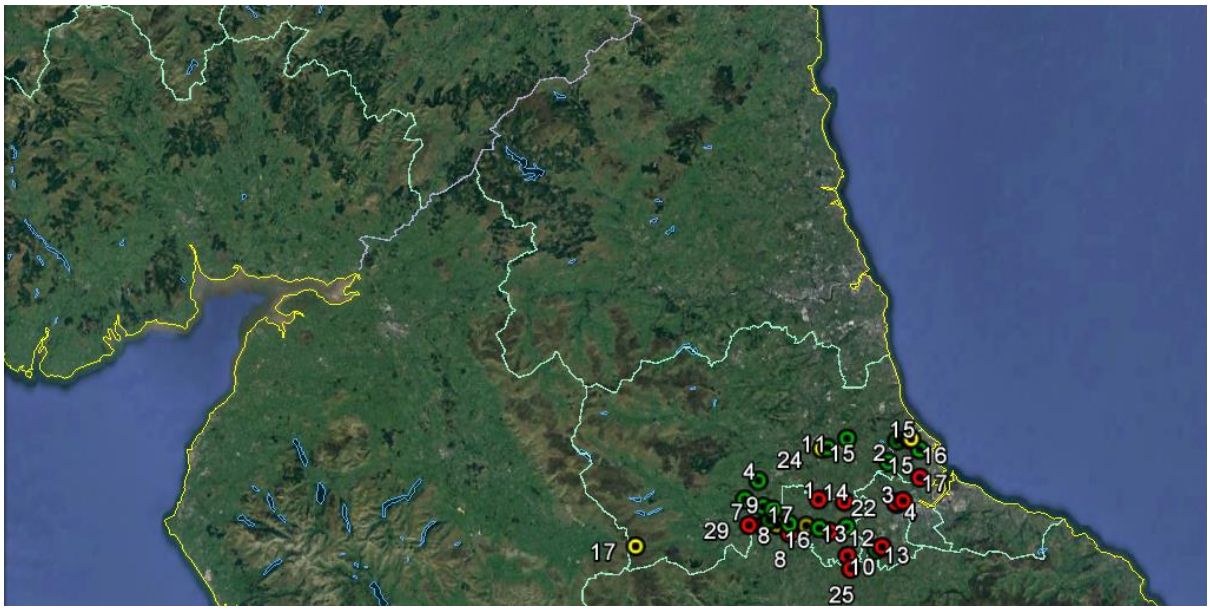

Figure 2 – *A plot of the evidence for possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the Tees Valley Region and southern County Durham.* Green dots represent place-names, red dots represent sites with sculpture and yellow dots represent small finds.

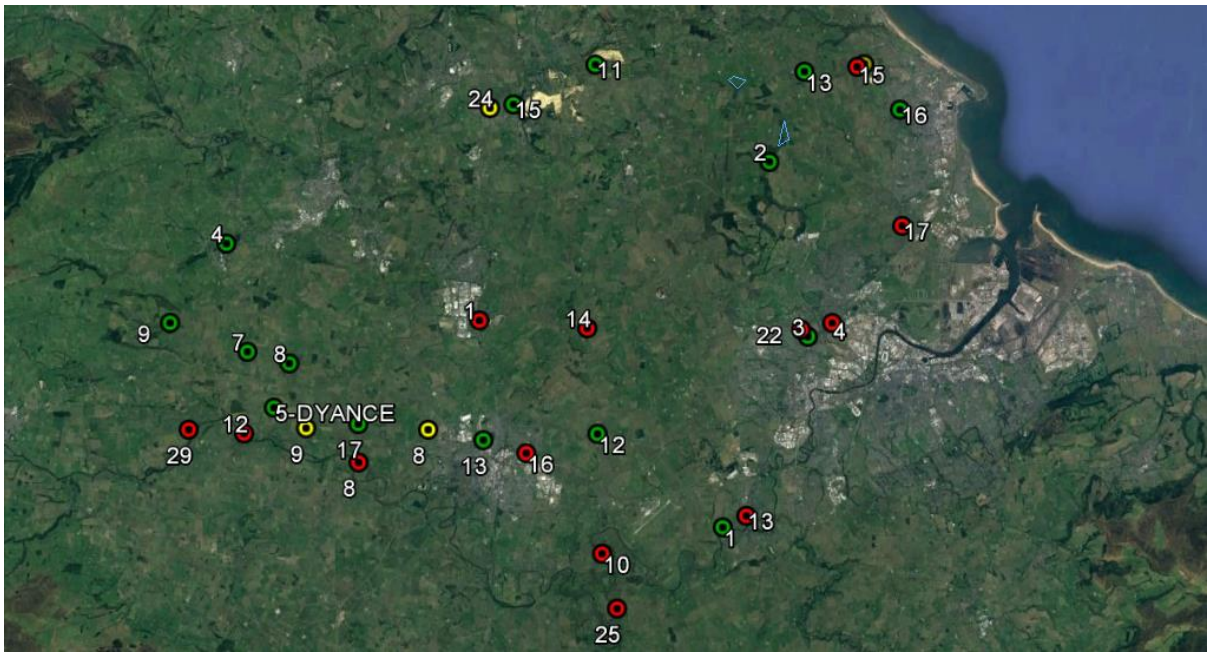

Figure 3 – *A closer up view of the plot of the evidence for possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the Tees Valley and southern County Durham.*

4.1.01 Artefacts and small finds

Artefact Number	Description	Source
8	Lead weight from Archdeacon Newton, Darlington	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Code: DUR-CF57C4
9	Hiberno-Norse lead weight from Piercebridge, Darlington	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Code: DUR-E573C1
15	Cast copper alloy strap end from Hart, Hartlepool	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Code: NCL-F54642
17	Hoard of 'Viking' silver objects from Bowes Moor, Old Spital, County Durham	Keys to the Past. Code D1880
24	Carved decorative bone mount from Ferryhill, County Durham	Batey, Morris and Vyner 1990

Table 2 – Artefactual evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the Tees Valley and southern County Durham Region.

4.1.02 Sites with sculpture

Site Number	Site Name	Number of Pieces of Sculpture	Source
1	Aycliffe	2	Cramp 1977, 41&44
4	Billingham	2	Cramp 1977, 48&52
8	Coniscliffe	2	Cramp 1977, 60&61
10	Dinsdale	3	Cramp 1977, 63&64
12	Gainford	14	Cramp 1977, 80-89
13	Egglescliffe	1	Cramp 1977, 75
14	Great Stainton	1	Cramp 1977, 91&92
15	Hart	2	Cramp 1977, 93,95&96
16	Haughton-le-skerne	1	Cramp 1977, 103

17	Greatham	1	Cramp 1977, 90
22	Norton	1	Cramp 1977, 134
25	Sockburn	6	Cramp 1977, 135-140, 141, 143 & 144
29	Winston-on-Tees	1	Cramp 1977, 145&146

Table 3 – Sculptural evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the Tees Valley and southern County Durham region.

4.1.03 Place-Names

Place-Name Number	Place-Name	Source	Meaning/Interpretation
1	Aislaby	Watts 1995	Most likely derived from the Old Danish personal name *'Aslak'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Aslak's farmstead.
2	Amerston	Watts 1995	Most likely derived from the Old Norse personal name *'Eymund'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Eymund's farmstead.
3	Blakeston	Watts 1995	Most likely derived from the Old Norse personal name *'Bleikr'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement. *'Bleikr'* is a name of Old Norse origin meaning pale one. Bleikr's farmstead.
4	Copeland	Watts 2001, 29	Partly derived from the Old Norse word '*kaupa'* meaning purchased – purchased land.
5	Dyance	Watts 2001, 36	Derived from the Old Danish word '*dyande'* meaning marshes.

7	Ingleton	Watts 2001, 66	Derived from either the Old Norse personal name *'Ingjaldr'* or the Old Danish personal name *'Ingæld'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement. Ingjaldr/Ingæld's farmstead.
8	Killerby	Watts 2001, 68	Derived from either the Old Norse personal name *'Kilvert'* or the Old Danish personal name *'Ketilfrith'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Kilvert/Ketilfrith's farmstead.
9	Raby	Watts 2001, 100	Possibly derived from the Old Norse word '*rá'* meaning boundary and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement but more likely the Old English word '*rā'* meaning roe deer and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – farmstead with a deer park.
11	Raisby	Watts 2001, 101	Derived from the Middle English personal name '*Race'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Race's farmstead.
12	Sadberge	Watts 2001, 107	Derived from the Old Norse word *'sate'* meaning a flat piece of land and the Old Norse word *'berg'* meaning a hill or mountain – flat topped hill or mountain.

13	Selaby	Watts 2001, 110	Possibly derived from the Old English word '*selet'* meaning willow copse and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Willow copse farmstead. An alternative explanation is the Old Norse personal name '*Sælithi'* meaning sea-farer and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Sælithi's farmstead.
14	Sheraton	Watts 2001, 111	Derived from the Old Norse personal name *'Skurfa'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Skurfa's farmstead.
15	Thrislington	Watts 2001, 125	Derived from the Old Danish personal name '*Thursten'* or the Old Norse personal name '*Thorsteinn'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Thursten/Thorsteinn's farmstead.
16	Throston	Watts 2001, 125	Derives from the Old Danish personal name '*Thori'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Thori's farmstead.
17	Ulnaby	Watts 2001, 128	Derives from the Old Norse personal name '*Ulfhethinn'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Ulfhethinn's farmstead.

Table 4 – Place-name evidence for a Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the Tees Valley and southern County Durham region.

4.1.04 Description of evidence

The data from this area does not seem to be dominated by any one particular type of evidence. Small finds are less frequent than place-names and sites with sculpture though not considerably less frequent. Concentrations of evidence exist largely throughout the whole of this area. Apart from the hoard in the far west of County Durham, all the other evidence is located close to other evidence rather than being isolated. There is a cluster of evidence which seems to be centred on the place-name Dyance (Place-Name Number 5). This cluster incorporates all place-names, sites with sculpture and small finds. There is a further loose cluster which runs from Sockburn (Site Number 25) in the south to Aycliffe (Site Number 1) in the north and from Haughton-le-Skerne (Site Number 16) in the west to Egglescliffe (Site Number 13) in the east. Place-names and sites with sculpture are the evidence in this cluster. Other clusters focus on Billingham (Site Number 4) and Norton (Site Number 22) where sculpture has been found and there is an Old Norse place-name. Another loose cluster in the Hartlepool area contains place-names, sculpture and a small find. To the west of this is the grouping of the bone mount from Ferryhill (Artefact Number 24) and the place-name Thrislington (Place-Name Number 15). In between this grouping and the Hartlepool cluster is the place-name Raisby (Place-Name Number 11).

4.2 Northern County Durham and southern Northumberland

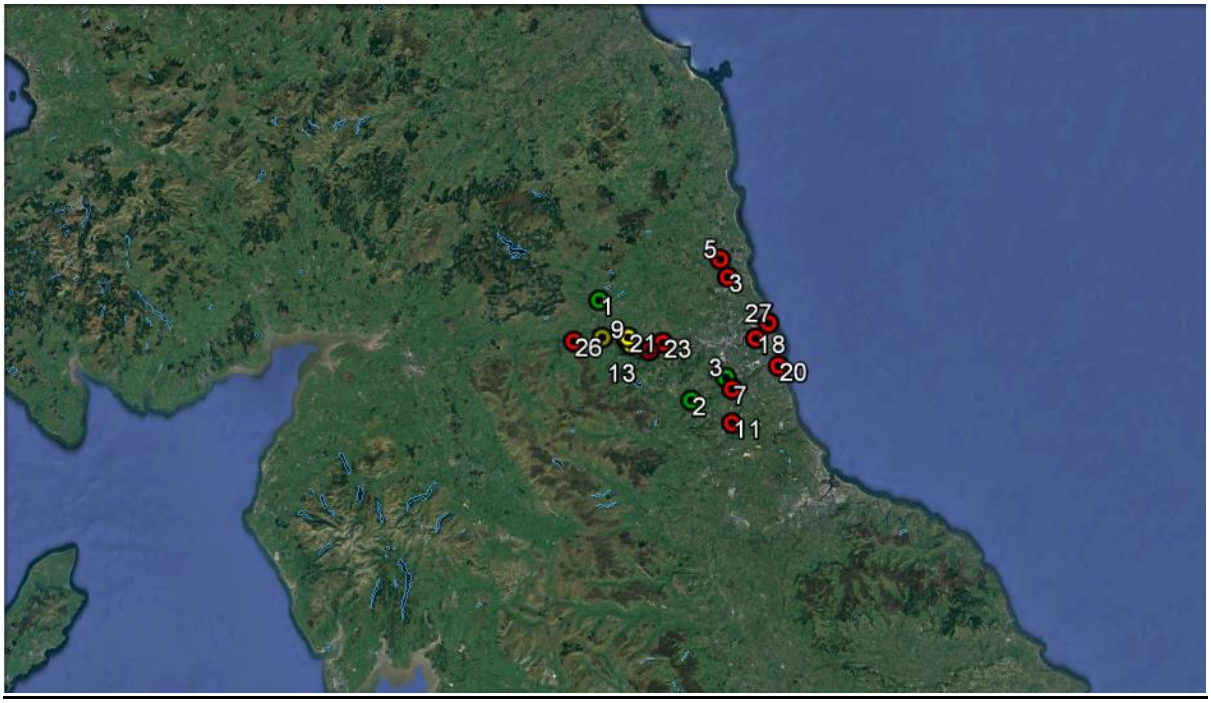

Figure 4 – *A plot of the evidence for possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern County Durham and southern Northumberland.* The green dots represent place-names, the red dots represent sites with sculpture and the yellow dots represent small finds.

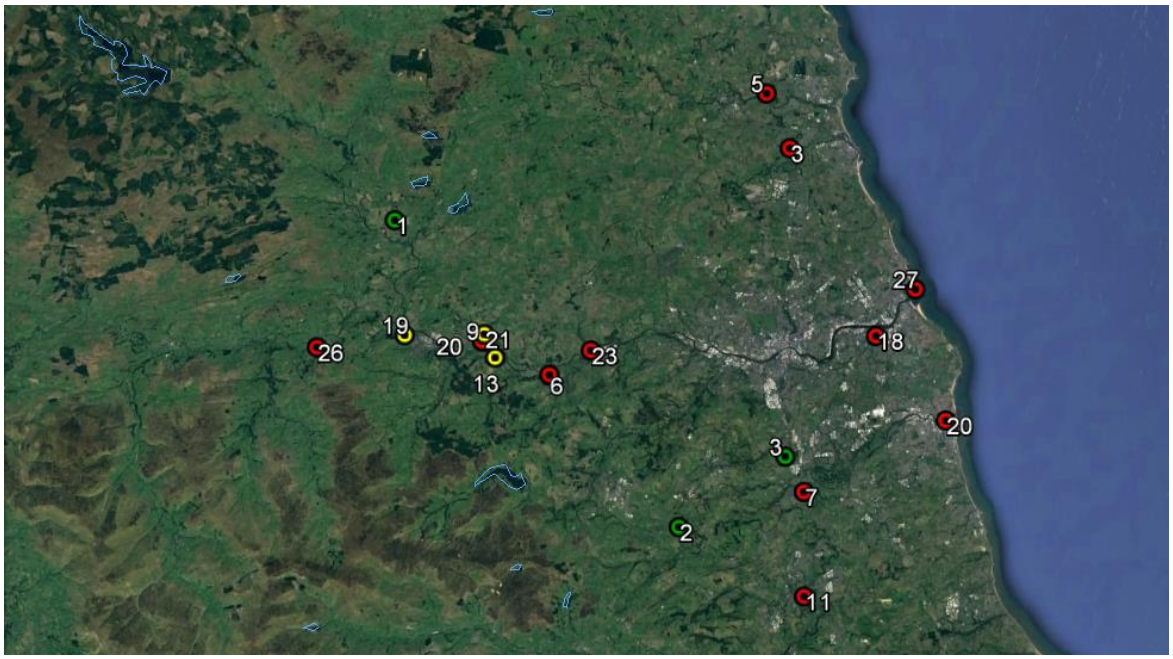

Figure 5 – *A closer up view of the plot of the evidence for possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern County Durham and southern Northumberland.*

4.2.01 Artefacts and small finds

Artefact Number	Description	Source
13	Anglo-Scandinavian cast copper alloy stirrup strap mount from Corbridge, Northumberland	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Code NCL-0061A5
19	Hoard of 8000 stycas from Hexham, Northumberland	Adamson 1844
20	Hoard of coins found in Corbridge, Northumberland	Craster 1914, 21
21	Water mill described as Norse style from Corbridge, Northumberland	Snape 2003

Table 5 – Artefactual evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern County Durham and southern Northumberland.

4.2.02 Sites with sculpture

Site Number	Site Name	Number of pieces of sculpture	Source
3	Bedlington	1	Cramp 1977, 163&164
5	Bothal	2	Cramp 1977, 167
6	Bywell	1	Cramp 1977, 168
7	Chester-le-Street	5	Cramp 1977, 53,54,56,57&58
9	Corbridge	1	Cramp 1977, 241
11	Durham	5	Cramp 1977, 66-68&73
18	Jarrow	1	Cramp 1977, 107&108
20	Monkwearmouth	1	Cramp 1977, 132
23	Ovingham	1	Cramp 1977, 215&216
26	South Tyne	1	Cramp 1977, 225
27	Tynemouth	1	Cramp 1977, 227&228

Table 6 – Sculptural evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern County Durham and southern Northumberland.

4.2.03 Place-Names

Place-Name Number	Place-Name	Source	Meaning/Interpretation
1	Gunnerton	Ekwall 1970, 208	Derived from the Old Norse female personal name '*Gunnvor'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Gunnvor's farmstead.
2	Ornsby Hill	Watts 2001, 89	Derived from the Old Norse personal name *'Ormr'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Ormr's farmstead.
3	Ouston	Watts 2001, 89	Derived from the personal name '*Ulkil'*, which was a reduced form of the Anglo-Scandinavian personal name '*Ulfkil'* and the Old English word '*stān'* meaning stone – Ulkil's stone – most likely a reference to a boundary stone but the '*stān'* element was later mistaken for the Old English word '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement.

Table 7 – Place-name evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern County Durham and southern Northumberland.

4.2.04 Description of evidence

The area of modern day northern County Durham and southern Northumberland is dominated by sites with sculpture, although individual sites do not produce large assemblages. Artefacts and place-names in this area are rather rare. In terms of areas which are more suggestive of presence, the Hexham (Artefact Number 19) and Corbridge (Artefact Numbers 13,20,21) area probably represents the area with the most suggestive evidence. Here there seems to be a cluster with a number of sites with sculpture as well as some artefacts and place-names. Other than this, no other area is particularly suggestive of presence. In and around Chester-Le-Street (Site Number 7) there is a small cluster of sites with sculpture as well as two place-names but this is far from conclusive. There are also a number of sites with sculpture on the coast but certainly not enough to suggest a potential coastal pattern.

4.3 Northern Northumberland and south east Scotland

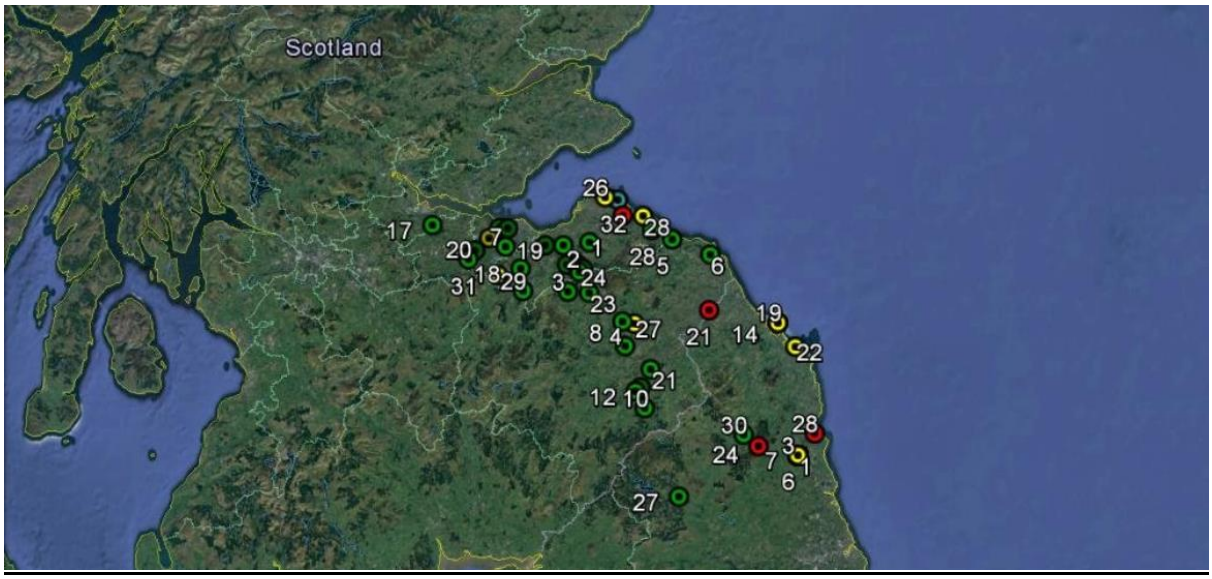

Figure 6 – *A plot of the evidence for possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern Northumberland and south east Scotland.* The green dots represent place-names, the red dots represent sites with sculpture, the yellow dots represent small finds and the light blue dot represents a burial.

Figure 7 – *A closer up view of the plot of the evidence for possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern Northumberland and south east Scotland.*

4.3.01 Artefacts and small finds

Artefact Number	Description	Source
1	Scandinavian copper alloy stud from Thirston, Northumberland	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Artefact Code: NCL-777F04
3	'Viking' cast lead gaming piece from Thirston, Northumberland	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Artefact Code: NCL-7C3F94
4	'Viking' cast lead alloy gaming piece from Thirston, Northumberland	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Artefact Code: NCL-FC8D35
6	'Viking' style lead weight from Thirston	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Artefact Code: DUR-8BB722
7	'Viking' cast lead alloy gaming piece from near Thirston, Northumberland	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Artefact Code: NCL-C12321
10	Possible Anglo-Scandinavian gaming piece from Thirston, Northumberland	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Artefact Code: DUR-5F614C
11	Possible Anglo-Scandinavian strap end from Thirston, Northumberland	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Artefact Code: NCL-271B97
12	Anglo-Scandinavian lead gaming piece from Thirston, Northumberland	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Artefact Code: NCL-CFFFC7
14	Possible Anglo-Scandinavian cast copper alloy animal head terminal from Lindisfarne, Northumberland	The Portable Antiquities Scheme. Artefact Code: DENO-264785
22	Part of a walrus tusk found at Bamburgh, Northumberland	Archaeology in Northumberland Volume 14, 2004, p17.
25	Finnish type ring headed brooch from Gogarburn, Edinburgh, Midlothian	Canmore. Artefact Code: 50652
26	Single sided antler comb found at St Andrew's church, North Berwick, East Lothian	Council for Scottish Archaeology 1994, 46
27	Hoard with Hiberno-Norse associations found at Gordon, Berwickshire	Stobbs 1885

28	Scandinavian fine antler comb found at Dunbar, East Lothian	Perry 2000, 71
31	Annular gold neck ring (now lost) found at Braidwood Fort, Midlothian	Vikings in Scotland: An Archaeological Survey, Graham-Campbell & Batey 1998, p235

Table 8 – Artefactual evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern Northumberland and south east Scotland.

4.3.02 Sites with sculpture

Site Number	Site Name	Number of Pieces of Sculpture	Source
19	Lindisfarne	3	Cramp 1977, 197,198, 206 &207
21	Norham	1	Cramp 1977, 209
24	Rothbury	1	Cramp 1977, 217-221
28	Warkworth	1	Cramp 1977, 231
32	Tyninghame	1	Canmore. Artefact Code: 57725

Table 9 – Sculptural evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern Northumberland and south east Scotland.

4.3.03 Place-Names

Place-Name Number	Place-Name	Source	Meaning/Interpretation
1	Begbie, East Lothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 113	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Baggi'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Baggi's farmstead.
2	Blegbie, East Lothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 113	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Bleikr'* or the Old Norse personal name '*Bleici'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Bleikr/Bleici's farmstead.
3	Brotherstone, Midlothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 115	Possibly derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Bróðir'* and the Old English suffix '*stān'* meaning stone – Bróðir's stone.
4	Brotherstone, Berwickshire	Nicolaisen 1976, 115	Possibly derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Bróðir'* and the Old English suffix '*stān'* meaning stone – Bróðir's stone.
5	Cockburnspath, Berwickshire	Nicolaisen 1976, 115	Derived partly from the Old Swedish personal name '*Kolbrand'*.
6	Coldingham Law, Berwickshire	Dunlop 2016	Derived partly from the Old Norse word '*kollr'* meaning a top or a summit.
7	Colinton, Midlothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 115	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Kolbeinn'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Kolbeinn's farmstead.

8	Corsbie, Berwickshire	Nicolaisen 1976, 102	Partly derived from the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement.
9	Corstorphine, Midlothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 115	Derived from the Gaelic word ''*crois* meaning cross and the Old Norse personal name '*þorfinnr'* – þorfinnr's crossing.
10	Dolphinston, Roxburghshire	Nicolaisen 1976, 115	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Dólgfinnr'* and the Old English suffix '*stān'* meaning stone – Dólgfinnr's stone.
12	Graham's Law, Roxburghshire	Nicolaisen 1976, 116	Partly derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Grimr'* and the Old English word '*hlāw'* meaning rounded hill – Grimr's rounded hill.
13	Humbie, East Lothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 113	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Hundi'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Hundi's farmstead.
14	Humbie, Midlothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 113	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Hundi'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Hundi's farmstead.
15	Humbie, West Lothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 113	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Hundi'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Hundi's farmstead.
17	Kettlestoun, West Lothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 116	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Ketill'* and the Old English word '*stān'* meaning stone – Ketill's stone.

18	Kirkettle, Midlothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 116	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Ketill'* and the Gaelic word '*carn'* meaning cairn – Ketill's cairn.
19	Ormiston, East Lothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 116	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Ormr'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Ormr's farmstead.
20	Ormiston, Midlothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 116	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Ormr'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Ormr's farmstead.
21	Ormiston, Roxburghshire	Nicolaisen 1976, 116	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Ormr'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Ormr's farmstead.
23	Oxton, Berwickshire	Nicolaisen 1976, 117	Originally derived from Old Norse personal name '*Ulfkell'* which was a shortened version of the name *'Ulfketill'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Ulfkell's farmstead.
24	Pogbie, East Lothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 114	Most likely derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Poca'* and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Poca's farmstead.

25	Ravelston, Midlothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 117	Possibly derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Hrafnkell'* or '*Hrafnulfr'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Hrafnkell/Hrafnulfr's farmstead.
26	Smeaton, Midlothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 114	Originally called Smithebi but the Old Norse '*býr'* element, meaning farmstead or settlement was later replaced by the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement.
27	Tarset, Northumberland	Watts 1995	Possibly derived from the Old Norse word '*tyri'* meaning resinous wood for fire making or perhaps building material and the Old Norse word '*sætr'* meaning shieling.
28	Thurston, East Lothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 117	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Pori'* or '*Puri'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Pori/Puri's farmstead.
29	Toxside, Midlothian	Nicolaisen 1976, 117	Possibly derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Toki'* and a misunderstood use of the Old English word '*hēafod'* meaning height.
30	Trewhitt, Northumberland	Watts 1995	Derived from Old Norse '*tyri'* meaning resinous wood for fire making or perhaps building material and '*with'*, the Old English word for a bend.

31	Ulston, Roxburghshire	Nicolaisen 1976, 118	Derived from the Old Norse personal name '*Ulfr'* and the Old English suffix '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement – Ulfr's farmstead.

Table 10 – Place-name evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in northern Northumberland and south east Scotland.

4.3.04 Burials

Auldhame – East Lothian

4.3.05 Description of evidence

For the area of modern day northern Northumberland and S.E. Scotland, three main areas of potential Anglo-Scandinavian activity seem to emerge. The first focuses on the significant number of small finds found at Thirston (Artefact Numbers 1,3,4,6,7,10,11,12) . There are two sites with sculpture, Warkworth (Site Number 28) and Rothbury (Site Number 24) nearby as well as the place-name Trewhitt (Place-Name Number 30).

The second pattern is the evidence that runs along the coast of this region. The evidence is located all along the coast from northern Northumberland up along to the coast of S.E. Scotland into the furthest northern reaches of the project study area. The evidence along the coast is comprised of a variety of data. There are three sites with sculpture, Warkworth (Site Number 28), Lindisfarne (Site

Number 19) and Tyninghame (Site Number 32). Also distributed along the coast are four artefacts and three place-names. Perhaps most importantly as well, the burial at Auldhame is also located along the coast.

The final pattern is located inland from the east coast. This pattern runs from Roxburghshire in the Scottish Borders all the way up to West Lothian. With the exception of a few artefacts, this pattern is dominated by place-names. As can be seen on Figures 5 and 6, these place-names form somewhat of a barrier running from Roxburghshire to West Lothian. There is no evidence in any form in Selkirkshire or Peeblesshire.

5. Data Analysis and Synthesis – Tees Valley and southern County Durham

5.1 Landholding and estate structures prior to the Scandinavians' arrival

Though settlements were founded by Scandinavians, there was already a well-established system of estates with powerful secular and monastic landholders, prior to the Scandinavians' arrival. This system of landholding would undergo changes between the eighth and eleventh centuries as estates were broken up and redistributed by incoming Scandinavians. Studying historical sources, namely the *HSC* which recorded the properties held by the Community of St Cuthbert, *the Boldon Book* of AD 1183 which recorded the properties of the Bishop of Durham and the works of Symeon of Durham provides a historical framework of landholdings and estates into which the evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity can be contextualised and better understood.

The term often used in historical sources to describe the land being transferred was '*vill'. 'Vill'* was not a term used during the period of Scandinavian settlement but was of post-Conquest origin and referred not to a single, fixed geographical area with clearly defined settlement boundaries such as a village but rather to what can best be called a resource-area (Johnson-South 2001, 124), a block of land consisting of areas for farming, growing crops, woods and wasteland (Johnson-South 2001, 124). The '*vill'* also included any dwellings, buildings and the labour of the individuals (Johnson-South 2001, 124). Most *'vills'* existed in groupings known as composite estates or *'shires'* (Johnson-South 2001, 125&129). These consisted of a central *'vill',* a high status site where important administrative and economic tasks were carried out and its outlying dependencies (Roberts 2008, 157). Central *'vills'* were often also early parish

centres and are distinguished in historical sources by being the first '*vill'* mentioned in a list of *'vills'* or by their named followed by 'and its dependencies' (Johnson-South 2001, 127&128).

'*Vills'* could be added or removed from different estates (Roberts 2008, 158). More than simply a group of settlements clustered around a central, high status site, the '*shire'* represented a pre-feudal arrangement in which many of the services rendered to a national or regional ruler would go to another noble who had been placed in the area in order to collect the dues (Roberts 2008, 158&159). This service could be in kind, such as the transfer of grain and other foodstuffs, labour such as agricultural work or the tending of hunting dogs (Roberts 2008, 159). '*Shires'* located in uplands were often paired with those in the lowlands so that both shires could benefit from each '*shire's*' income, due to the greatly varying size difference between upland and lowland '*shires'* (Roberts 2008, 159).

5.2 Gainfordshire

5.2.01 Gainford

Gainford may have been the foundation of Edwine also known as Eda, a former Northumbrian duke who left the secular world in order to become a monk, since Symeon recorded that in AD 801 Edwine passed away and was buried in his monastery at Gainford (HR sa.801). The *HSC* recorded that Bishop Ecgred built a church at Gainford (HSC 9) and then later the site was leased out twice, first to Eadred son of Ricsige who had fled from the west after "violating the peace and the will of the people" (HSC 24) and then to Earls Ehtred, Northman and Uhtred during the Episcopate of Bishop Aldhun (AD 990 to AD 1018) (HSC 31).

Some pieces of sculpture from Gainford are more suggestive of Anglo-Scandinavian activity than others. Though not Scandinavian monuments as previously believed, there are two hogbacks which both show clear Scandinavian influence. One, from the tenth century, exists in an incomplete form, bearing similarities in terms of ornamentation to the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings of Cumbria, an area of known Scandinavian settlement (Cramp 1977, 87-89). The other hogback dates from the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century and bears similar ornamentation (Cramp 1977, 87-89).

A late tenth century cross-shaft fragment has clear links with the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings of Yorkshire, possibly suggesting links between Gainford and Yorkshire (Cramp 1977, 84). Another piece, part of a cross-shaft dating from the first half of the tenth century, has drawn comparisons with sculpture from the Danelaw (Cramp 1977, 80&81) whilst part of a cross-shaft

from the second half of the tenth century, seems to be an Anglo-Scandinavian rendering of the Auckland St Andrew's cross (Cramp 1977, 81).

Gainford also produced pieces displaying a more purely Scandinavian influence. An upper part of a cross-shaft from Gainford depicts Scandinavian motifs such as a horse and rider with a pigtail (Cramp 1977, 81&82), possibly a bird attacking a snake whilst the wolf Fenrir was bound and also "a bound devil" (Cramp 1977, 81&82). Other Scandinavian mythological scenes may be depicted on the cross-shaft with one side of the carving possibly portraying Thor's hammer (Cramp 1977, 81&82). There may have been links between the Community at Chester-le-Street and the new Anglo-Scandinavian carvers of the Tees Valley (Cramp 1977, 81&82).

The bound devil may be a scene from Christian iconography, influenced by the story of Loki and other elements of Scandinavian mythology (Kopár 2012, 88), perhaps suggesting amicable relations and a shared understanding between the Community and the Anglo-Scandinavians. The cross-shaft dates from the first half of the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 81&82). Little suggests that the Anglo-Scandinavian kings of Northumbria in this period were baptised let alone devout Christians. Most of the earlier kings of this period have produced little if any evidence for their reign. The later kings such as Ragnall and Olaf Guthfrithson who are better documented, seem to have been hostile to Christianity, as do their followers, perhaps suggesting that such a piece of sculpture was not produced during their reigns. One option is that there may have been Anglo-Scandinavian individuals who settled in the area during Guthred's reign, which ended in AD 895, just before the earliest date for the production of

this piece of sculpture. They may have stayed in the area and were like Guthred, possibly Christian and had an amicable relationship with the Community.

A part of another cross-shaft shares many similarities, depicting Scandinavian motifs such as a squatting figure, as well as displaying Anglian ornamentation (Cramp 1977, 82&83). This piece also dates from the first half of the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 82&83), possibly suggesting that a similar conclusion could be drawn as for the piece mentioned above.

Also from the first half of the tenth century is part of a shaft and the head of a cross (Cramp 1977, 85&86), which has been influenced by the Scandinavian art of the north west Danelaw (Cramp 1977, 85&86), as well as by the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings of the Tees Valley as shown by the vertebral ring chains, a common feature of sculpture in this area (Cramp 1977, 85&86). The dates of these three pieces may suggest Anglo-Scandinavian activity at Gainford during this period.

Figure 8 - *The upper part of a cross-shaft from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face A (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 62, no. 290) (Reproduced with permission). The horse and rider with pigtail motif is commonly found in Scandinavian art and is paralleled on many other carvings from the region such as Hart 01, Chester-le-Street 01, Sockburn 03 and Sockburn 14 (Cramp 1977, 81&82).

Figure 9 - *The upper part of a cross-shaft from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face B (Narrow).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 61, no.291) (Reproduced with permission). The bird in this motif seems to be attacking some type of beasts but what exact creatures are being attacked is uncertain. Should these creatures represent a snake and the wolf Fenrir, then a scene that is clearly taken from Scandinavian mythology is being depicted (Cramp 1977, 81&82).

Figure 10 - *The upper part of a cross-shaft from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face C (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 61, no.292) (Reproduced with permission). Again, like other motifs on this cross-shaft, it is not clear what is being depicted. It could be that the individual depicted is some sort of 'bound devil' which would link this piece to carvings from Cumberland (Cramp 1977, 81&82). Such scenes and characters seem to have been features of Scandinavian art and this point would be further emphasized should the item being held in the individual's right hand be identified as Thor's hammer (Cramp 1977, 81&82).

Figure 11 - *The upper part of a cross-shaft from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century Face D (Narrow).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 61, no.293) (Reproduced with permission). The similarities between the interlace motif on this carving and those on carvings from Chester-le-Street have led some to suggest that there were artistic exchanges between Anglian carvers at Chester-le-Street and Anglo-Scandinavian carvers in the Tees Valley region (Cramp 1977, 30).

Figure 12 - *Part of a cross-shaft in two joining pieces, from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face A (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 62, no.294) (Reproduced with permission). The serpent motif portrayed on this piece draws parallels with other carvings from the site, namely Gainford 02 (Cramp 1977, 82&83).

Figure 13 - *Part of a cross-shaft in two joining pieces, from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face C (Broad)*. (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 63, no.297) (Reproduced with permission). Scandinavian influence on this piece is indicated by the squatting figure and also the bar, which is piercing the squatting individual. These scenes are depicted elsewhere in Scandinavian art (Cramp 1977, 82&83). The bar piercing the middle of the body can also be seen on the Billingham 01 carving, which is analysed later. The styles on this cross-shaft, like those on Gainford 02, suggest a coming together of Scandinavian and Anglian artistic traditions (Cramp 1977, 82&83).

Historical sources present a complex account of events at Gainford. The story of Eadred bears many similarities to Elfred's (Johnson-South 2001, 106), who is discussed later, with both men coming from beyond the mountains in the west, seeking sanctuary and land with the Community of St Cuthbert, only to perish or flee during the Battle of Corbridge, where they may have been fighting on behalf of the Community (Johnson-South 2001, 106). Following Eadred's death, Ragnall gave the land held by Eadred on behalf of St Cuthbert to Esbrid, son of Eadred and an individual named Count Ælstan, who was possibly the brother of either Esbrid or Eadred (HSC 24). It is not clear how they managed to retain these lands, whether they were soldiers in Ragnall's army or whether they were fighting against Ragnall and being impressed by their skill and bravery he allowed them to retain the lands (Johnson-South 2001, 106). As these lands were granted by the Community to three earls in the late tenth century or early eleventh century, they may have remained in the Community's possession with Esbrid and Ælstan, like Eadred, remaining loyal to the Community (Johnson-South 2001, 101).

The allegiances of Esbrid and Ælstan are a complex matter. Ragnall would likely have little need to grant lands to Esbrid and Ælstan if, as the *HSC* recorded, many English had been slain (HSC 22), perhaps suggesting that Esbrid and Ælstan had few allies and little power. Furthermore, it would seem unlikely that Ragnall would trust Esbrid and Ælstan with such an important site as Gainford if they were not trusted allies.

It could be countered that Ragnall was trying to establish a conciliatory relationship with Esbrid and Ælstan (Aird 1998, 40), possibly to limit the power

and allies of the Community of St Cuthbert. Onlafbal's tirade against St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street could be a reflection of his view of the Community as a threat to Anglo-Scandinavian rule in the area. Much of the evidence is ambiguous regarding Esbrid and Ælstan's loyalties. That Esbrid and Ælstan were not referred to in the same terms as Onlafbal may suggest that they were not allies of Ragnall, though Scula was an ally of Ragnall and was referred to as a powerful warrior (HSC 23), though Symeon later recorded that he was a tyrant (Libellus Book II Chapter 16). It is not clear from the fact that they received Eadred's lands whether, as mentioned earlier, this was for their bravery, or some sort of plot on Esbrid and Ælstan's part to seize Eadred's lands. The *HSC's* statement that Ragnall, his sons and friends died taking nothing that they had taken from the Community of St Cuthbert (HSC 24) cannot clearly be linked to Esbrid or Ælstan.

Later, Gainford was granted to three earls during the reign of Bishop Aldhun (AD 990 to AD 1018) (HSC 31). The grant seems to have been of two separate estates, Gainford with its dependencies and then Bishop Auckland with its dependencies (Johnson-South 2001, 113). The extent of the Gainford estate is unclear as the description "Gainford and whatever pertains to it" (HSC 24) does not give a clear indication of whether it refers to the smaller thirteen '*vill'* estate or one mentioned earlier in the *HSC* which would have covered most of the land between the Tees and Tyne granted by Guthred, including Chester-le-Street (Johnson-South 2001, 106).

Why the Community should rent out their most important lands is not clear. A possibility is that these lands may have been used for the protection of Northumbria. Like elsewhere in Northumbria, land may have been given to certain individuals, in this instance Earls Ehtred, Northman and Uhtred, in return

for the protection of the Community and their lands. Mercenaries may have been given land in return for protecting sites belonging to the Community of St Cuthbert (McLeod 2015). Elfred's lands may have been held in return for protection of the Community, with the earlier grant of land including Gainford to Eadred by Bishop Cutheard reflecting an attempt to create a marcher lordship to defend the major routes in N.E. England and the Community's heartlands (Kapelle 1979, 35). Both Eadred and Elfred's engagement and possible deaths at the Battle of Corbridge further suggest a type of 'land in return for protection' agreement with the Community. Alternatively, the earls may have seized the land for the protection of Northumbria and Earl Northman's later grant of Escomb to the Community, one of the sites that was seized, may have represented a sort of penance (Bolton 2009, 135) as may Earl Uhtred's, another of the earls involved in the possible taking of these lands, helping to clear part of Durham for the construction of a church by the Community (Libellus Book III Chapter 2).

Both the parochial centres of the two estates, Gainford and Bishop Auckland were located on or close to Dere Street, the major Roman road that ran from York to Corbridge (Petts 2009). Both were key river crossings, with Gainford crossing the Tees and the next major river crossing at Bishop Auckland where Dere Street crossed the River Wear (Petts 2015). Swein Forkbeard sacked Bamburgh and consumed the greater part of Northumbria in AD 993 and the Danes continued to plunder parts of England (Chron. Melrose sa.993), so Northumbria may have been threatened.

Gainford produced over double the number of pieces of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture as the site with the next highest number. Whilst having an ecclesiastical history, there does not seem to be any indication that

Gainford was a particularly prestigious site, especially when compared to Chester-le-Street or Lindisfarne, though the Northumbrian royal association of Edwine (HR sa.801) may have helped. This lack of religious prestige may have been countered by Gainford's economic and strategic value. The record of Bishop Ecgred's building of the church at Gainford seems to indicate that the estate covered a large area since the record stated the estate extended from the river Tees to the river Wear (HSC 9), perhaps suggesting that this was a valuable economic estate with significant resources to draw on. Gainford also had strategic importance, lying on Dere Street and being a key crossing of the River Tees (Petts 2009) making it appealing to any incoming Scandinavians.

Despite this, it is hard to link Gainford with certainty to any period of Anglo-Scandinavian activity. Artefact dates are too broad to link them with particular reigns or eras. Place-names cannot be associated with specific dates. The three pieces of sculpture from Gainford, which have the clearest Scandinavian cultural influence all date from the first half of the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 81-83,85&86) and this would seem to be the main period of Anglo-Scandinavian activity at the site. During this period Gainford among other sites was leased to Eadred and following Eadred's death, these lands were given by Ragnall to Eadred's relatives, Esbrid and Ælstan (HSC 24), who may have fought for or against Ragnall at the Battle of Corbridge. Given the knowledge and understanding of Scandinavian mythology seen on some of the sculpture from Gainford, it seems unlikely that the sculpture relates to Esbrid and Ælstan, since they are both Anglo-Saxon names (Stenton 2004, 333).

Given the possible Christian nature of some of the pieces and what is known about the beliefs of the Anglo-Scandinavian kings of Northumbria, the

lack of evidence for many of their reigns and the possible Christian beliefs of Guthred, it may be plausible that Gainford developed as a centre of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture towards the end of Guthred's reign and continued to be so due to the presence of individuals associated with his regime.

Figure 14 –*Landholdings of the Community of St Cuthbert.* (Morris 1977, 89).

5.2.02 Great Stainton

Evidence from Great Stainton is part of a cross-shaft, surviving in two pieces (Cramp 1977, 91&92), displaying a figure, dressed in a belted tunic, standing beneath an arch, whilst looking to his right and holding a sword (Cramp 1977, 91&92). Depictions of secular figures bearing arms seem to be a feature of Anglo-Scandinavian iconography and this piece can be linked with carvings from Sockburn (Cramp 1977, 91&92). The sculpture dates from the last quarter of the ninth to the first quarter of the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 91&92), suggesting that it was most likely associated with the initial phases of Scandinavian settlement. This piece may have been carved during the reign of Guthred. Relations between the Community and the Anglo-Scandinavians seem to have been positive during Guthred's reign and the links between Stainton's sculpture and pieces from Chester-le-Street (Cramp 1977, 91&92), a site linked to both Guthred and the Community, perhaps suggests this. Other Anglo-Scandinavian kings who ruled between the late ninth and early tenth century have left virtually no trace of their reign, suggesting that this piece was more likely to have been created during Guthred's reign, when other similar pieces such as those from Chester-le-Street were created.

Figure 15 – *Part of a cross-shaft in two pieces, dating from the last quarter of the ninth to the first quarter of the tenth century, from Great Stainton.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photogtapher T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 76, no.382) (Reproduced with permission). The depiction of armed, secular figures, as depicted on this carving, seems to be a feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art and may reflect the secular takeover of sculpture that occurred with the Scandinavian settlement (Cramp 1977, 91&92).

Figure 16– *Closer view of the armed secular figure on the sculpture from Great Stainton.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 76, no.383) (Reproduced with permission).

5.2.03 Copeland

Copeland derived from the Old Norse meaning purchased land and perhaps suggests peaceful interactions between Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons, at least in certain situations (Watts 2001, 29).

5.2.04 Selaby

Selaby may derive from the Old English word '*selet'* meaning willow copse and the Old Danish suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2001, 110) or the Old Norse personal name '*Sælithi'* meaning seafarer and the Old Danish suffix '*bý'* (Watts 2001, 110). The use of the Old Norse '*bý'* element suggests the presence of Old Norse speakers and the survival of Old Norse naming traditions since such elements were used exclusively by them (Abrams and Parsons 2004).

This, as well as other '*bý'* place-names in the area may indicate the formation of new settlements at the expense of the older and fragmented estates. *'Bý'* place-names seem to reflect the replacement of older place-names as new administrative and taxation structures were introduced (Fellows-Jensen 2013). In England, there were three periods of this process. The earliest *'bý'* place-names date from the ninth or early tenth century and bear similarities to those in Denmark as they contain nouns that were in everyday usage (Fellows-Jensen 2013). These *'bý'* settlements in England were probably being taxed for the first time (Fellows-Jensen 2013). Slightly later are *'bý'* place-names combined with Old Norse personal names, which reflect the fragmentation of large existing estates, with land from the estates being granted to Danish landholders (Fellows-Jensen 2013). The final period is where the *'bý'* element is combined

with Norman, Breton or Celtic elements, which indicates the end of the 'Viking Age' in England, though such place-names continued in Scotland (Fellows-Jensen 2013).

5.2.04 Aislaby

Aislaby derives from the Old Norse or Old Danish personal name *'Aslak'* and the Old Norse suffix *'býr'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2001, 1). Historical sources make no mention of Aislaby or an individual named Aslak though an individual named Oslac of York, who was the first earl of York during the 960s and 970s, until his banishment following King Edgar's death (Rollason 2003, 267&269). Oslac is the Old English version of the name Aslak. Oslac was said to have ruled the lands between the Humber estuary and the Tees with his son who also bore a Scandinavian name ruling the same lands after him, though this is not certain and it may be that it was Thored son of Gunnar, not Thored son of Oslac who ruled (Rollason 2003, 267&269). Oslac seems to have had some connection with Scandinavia. Whilst it is appealing to associate him with Aislaby there is no clear evidence for this. The importance of *'býr'* place-names has been outlined and some have suggested that '*býr'* place-names indicate that ordinary Scandinavians were willing to work for English overlords since '*býr*' place-names occur in areas under the control of the Community of St Cuthbert (Morris 1977).

5.2.06 Dyance

Dyance derived from the Old Danish word meaning marshlands (Watts 2001, 36).

5.2.07 Ingleton

Ingleton consists of the Old Norse personal name '*Ingjaldr'* or the Old Danish personal name '*Ingæld'* and the Old English *'tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2001, 66). Though not conclusive evidence for Scandinavian settlement, Grimston hybrids may indicate Scandinavian influence (Fellows-Jensen 2013). Early Old English place-names containing the *'tūn'* element did not contain the name of a landowner or tenant, as land may have not been bought or sold during this period (Fellows-Jensen 2013).

Scandinavian personal names begin to appear with *'tūn'* place-names in the tenth century as Anglo-Scandinavian activity may have instigated the buying and selling of land and the reorganisation of settlements (Fellows-Jensen 2013).

Ingleton formed part of the Staindropshire estate given to the Community of St Cuthbert having previously been in the possession of King Cnut (HSC 32). Such a move suggests that prior to this donation these lands including Ingleton were not under the Community's control. Indeed it has been suggested that Cnut pursued a policy of appeasement in relation to the Community, helping to restore lands which they had lost during the turbulence of the various invasions and conquests that engulfed the region (Aird 1998, 51). The Community represented a possible ally and source of stability in the region to counteract the movements of the House of Bernicia, who Cnut viewed with suspicion as possible troublemakers in the region (Aird 1998, 51).

Originally, Staindropshire was part of the Gainfordshire estate and so is considered as part of Gainfordshire here, but was separated possibly by AD 1040, if not earlier (Roberts 2008, 196-198) with some believing that the loss of

Staindropshire may have occurred following Ragnall's conquest of the region (Johnson-South 2001, 115). Anglo-Scandinavian responsibility for the separation of Staindropshire from Gainfordshire is unclear. The Staindropshire estate does not seem to have been fragmented as it was granted by Cnut to the Community (Johnson-South 2001, 115), as well as being granted to other individuals later (Stevenson 1855, 791) (Johnson-South 2001, 115).

5.2.08 Raby

Raby may derive from the Old Norse word '*rá'* meaning boundary but more likely the Old English word '*rā'* meaning roe deer and the Old Norse suffix '*býr'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2001, 100). The '*býr'* element seems to be a clear indicator of Anglo-Scandinavian activity and possibly of the formation of new settlements and the fragmentation of existing estates.

5.2.09 Winston-on-Tees

Winston-on-Tees may have been part of the Gainford estate but there is little evidence from the site. Part of a cross-head may depict the popular Anglo-Scandinavian single stag motif and the carving may feature adaptations of secular Scandinavian iconographic models (Cramp 1977, 145&146). The date of this piece, the tenth or eleventh century (Cramp 1977, 145&146) would plausibly fit in with the theory that Gainfordshire and Staindropshire split in the late tenth or early eleventh century (Roberts 2008, 196-198) and may suggest some form of activity in the area at this time.

Figure 17 – *Part of a tenth or eleventh century cross-head from Winston-on-Tees.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 147, no.774) (Reproduced with permission). The single stag depictions on carvings seem to be characteristic of Anglo-Scandinavian art and can be found on other carvings from the area such as Sockburn 07, as well as on Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from Yorkshire (Cramp 1977, 145&146).

5.2.10 Piercebridge

The evidence from Piercebridge consists of a Hiberno-Norse lead weight (The British Museum, n.d.) which is a strong indicator of potential Anglo-Scandinavian presence since weights formed part of an alternative Scandinavian dual economy based on hack silver and bullion as opposed to coins (Kershaw 2017). The lead weight may suggest links to the Irish Sea or perhaps more plausibly, links to York since York had a significant Hiberno-Norse population and both York and Piercebridge were connected by Dere Street (Pevsner and Williamson 1985, 57). The end of Anglo-Scandinavian rule in York in AD 954, the expulsion of the Hiberno-Norse regime from York in AD 927 (Edwards 2004, 178) or the minting of the first Hiberno-Norse coins in Ireland after AD 975 (Edwards 2004, 178) may indicate the date of the weight.

Figure 18 – *Ninth or tenth century Hiberno-Norse style weight from Piercebridge.* (The British Museum 2010). In addition to this piece being Scandinavian in style, it also formed part of an alternative Scandinavian economy based on bullion and hack silver (Kershaw 2017).

5.2.11 Killerby

Killerby derives from the Old Norse personal name '*Kilvert'* and Old Norse suffix '*býr'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2001, 68). The historical text *De obsessione Dunelmi*, mentions a thegn from Yorkshire named Kilvert (Meehan 1976). Ligulf, Kilvert's father was also an Anglo-Danish landowner in the area. Prominent families were active in moving around Northumbria and Kilvert's family may have been one such family especially given the proximity between Yorkshire and the areas around Killerby.

De obsessione Dunelmi mentions how one of Earl Ealdred's daughters, Æthelthryth, married a thegn of Yorkshire, referred to as Orm son of Gamal (Meehan 1976). An inscription on a sundial from Kirkdale in North Yorkshire recorded how St Gregory's Minster was purchased by Orm son of Gamal (Lang 1991, 163-166), almost certainly the individual mentioned in *De obsessione Dunelmi.* Furthermore, the sundial dates from the mid-eleventh century (Lang 1991, 163-166), when both Orm and Kilvert would have been active. Despite the evidence there is nothing to conclusively link the individual to the settlement.

Killerby may have been a late foundation, first being mentioned in a charter from AD 1091 or AD 1092 (Roberts 2008, 198). Place-names from the surrounding area are mentioned in documents from between AD 995 and AD 1031 and indicate the clearance of waste land, suggesting some form of colonisation in the area before AD 1040 (Roberts 2008, 198). The development of Killerby would seem to suggest the formation of new settlements and the fragmentation of the Gainfordshire estate.

5.3 Hartness

Hart was most likely the centre of the estate of Hartness, an area which was a central part of the Anglo-Saxon monastery of Hartlepool's landholdings. The estate of Hartness, its extent and relationship to the monastery at Hartlepool have been subject to various interpretations. Daniels has argued that the economic and administrative framework that formed Hartness may have roots in prehistory (Daniels 2007). This framework was focused on the central places of Hart, Billingham and Greatham (Daniels 2007). Sculptural links suggest strong ties between the monastery and these outlying centres (Daniels 2007). These centres were on a sound economic footing allowing them to withstand much disruption as shown by Bishop Ecgred's fragmentation of the estate and Ragnall's reassembling of it (Daniels 2007). The estate's survival for long after the monastery's decline suggests that the monastery relied on the estate for its upkeep rather than the other way around (Daniels 2007).

Loveluck has suggested that the estate only provided limited resources and that the monastery never had full control over centres such as Billingham, since Billingham had high status stone buildings which the monastery did not (Loveluck 2007). The presence of ninth century sculpture at Billingham, Hart and Greatham suggests that they benefitted from royal or local aristocratic patronage rather than having intimate links with the monastery at Hartlepool (Loveluck 2007). Billingham, Hart and Greatham had links with the monastery but were most likely not granted to it but remained in royal and then later aristocratic possession (Loveluck 2007).

Both these interpretations may hold the key to what happened. The *HSC's* account of Bishop Ecgred's donation describes Billingham as being in Hartness (HSC 9). Since the monastery at Hartlepool was declining at the beginning of the ninth century (Loveluck 2007), it may be that the estate was being broken up as it was no longer required since the monastery was gone. The estate may have continued to exist but on a smaller scale.

Ragnall's division of land seems to give no indication of the estate's reconstruction with the *HSC* recording that Ragnall divided the lands of the Community of St Cuthbert into two areas, giving one to Scula and the other to Onlafbal (HSC 23). Furthermore, though there are later mentions of Hartness, later mentions of Billingham do not state that it was in Hartness. There is little to link the sites sculpturally in the tenth centuries and the presence of a stone church at Billingham but not at other sites is suggestive of local aristocratic patronage (Loveluck 2007).

The lands including Billingham, Hart and Greatham may have originally been associated with the monastery but were separated following the monastery's demise, possibly due to Scandinavian raiding, with little indication that the estate of Hartness was ever reconstructed. The Scandinavians due to their raiding at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century may have had an indirect role in the fragmentation of Hartness.

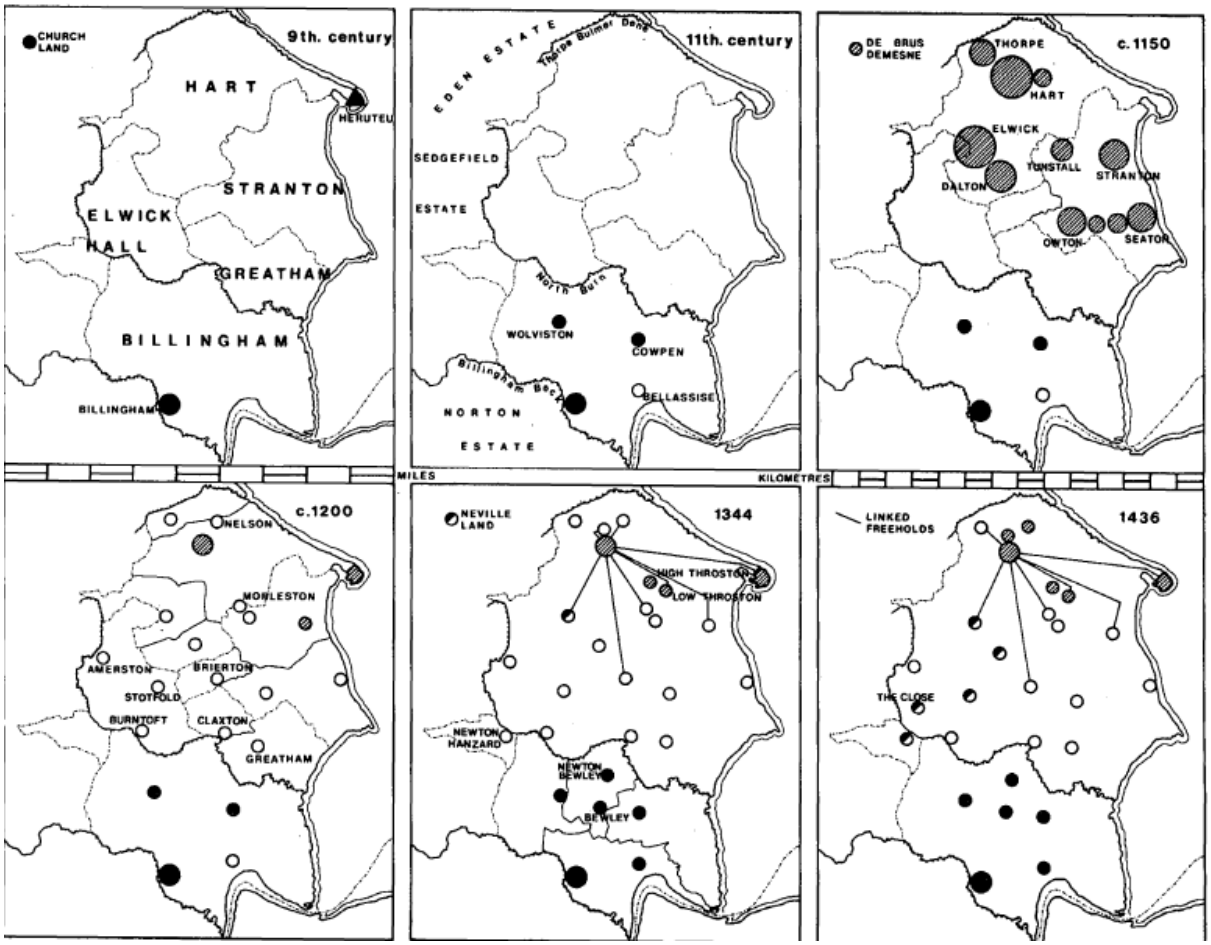

Figure 19 –*The township of Hart between the ninth and fifteenth centuries.* (Austin 1976 Fig 2) (Reproduced with permission).

5.3.01 Hart

Historical sources mention that Hartness was raided by Scandinavians in AD 800 (RW sa.800). The first piece of sculptural evidence from Hart is the upper part of a cross-shaft dating from the mid-tenth century (Cramp 1977, 93). Some of the scenes on the cross-shaft are decipherable, whilst others are too worn to be made out (Cramp 1977, 93). Stylistic elements and iconography link this piece to Gainford, Sockburn and Brompton (Cramp 1977, 93). A horse and a rider can be clearly distinguished on one of the panels and may be interpreted as representing a new high status military elite or the Scandinavian god Óðinn, since he was commonly portrayed as riding a horse whilst holding a spear (Kopár 2012, 112). There are, however, no other symbols which were commonly associated with Óðinn, which perhaps makes this identification of him implausible (Kopár 2012, 112). Furthermore, the piece dates from the mid-tenth century, around seventy years after Scandinavian settlement is recorded as having begun.

During this period, the Anglo-Scandinavians had largely converted to Christianity and such overt pagan imagery became less frequent. The other piece of sculpture from Hart, which depicts the Crucifixion in a way that became popular in Anglo-Scandinavian areas and also dates from the mid-tenth century (Cramp 1977, 95&96), would also suggest that the carving represents an elite individual rather than Óðinn.

Archaeological evidence consists of a tenth century cast copper alloy strap end. Little can be said about such a piece given the lack of other finds. Class E strap ends like this one are common in the tenth and eleventh centuries and this

specific type Class E Type 3 is sometimes found on Continental sites such as Domburg in Holland (Thomas 2000).

Sculptural evidence is more suggestive of Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the area but the two pieces would not be suitable to draw any firm conclusions from. Evidence from the rest of the Hartness area might provide valuable contextual information.

Figure 20 –*Upper part of a mid-tenth century cross-shaft from Hart – Face A (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 79, no.394) (Reproduced with permission). The depiction of horse and rider seems to have been a common scene on Anglo-Scandinavian art, featuring on carvings from sites such as Gainford and Sockburn (Cramp 1977, 93). It seems unlikely that the individual depicted is Óðinn.

Figure 21 –*Upper part of a mid-tenth century cross-shaft from Hart – Face C (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 79, no.396) (Reproduced with permission). The plain plait pattern depicted here is a common feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art, appearing on carvings from Sockburn (Cramp 1977, 93).

Figure 22 –*Fragment of the centre of a cross-head from the first half of the tenth century from Hart.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 81, no.414) (Reproduced with permission). Features such as the elongated figures or the depiction of characters such as the cup bearer on this possible Crucifixion scene may suggest that this was an early form of Crucifixion scene that became favoured in Anglo-Scandinavian areas (Cramp 1977, 95&96).

Figure 23 –*Tenth or eleventh century Anglo-Scandinavian strap end from Hart.* (The British Museum 2005).

5.3.02 Norton

The only relevant piece of sculpture from Norton, part of a tenth century cross-shaft, bears similarities with carvings from Chestser-le-Street, as both carvers seem to have had difficulty in joining the different stylistic elements of the carving (Cramp 1977, 134). The poor quality of the sculpture from Norton may be a reflection of Norton's lack of resources compared to nearby Billingham, reflecting Loveluck's idea of individual patronage rather than an association with the monastery at Hartlepool.

A charter records the granting of Norton to the Community of St Cuthbert by Ulfketel, son of Osulf (Robertson 2009, 141) around the year AD 994 (Roberts 2008, 232). Ulfketel appears in the Durham Liber Vitae (Joy 1975), a book recording those associated with the church of Lindisfarne or possibly Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (Briggs 2004). Ulfketel is an Anglo-Scandinavian name (Insley 2004) and it has been suggested that the Ulfketel who donated Norton may be identified with Ulfketel, one of King Edgar's ministers, mentioned in charters from AD 958 and AD 959 concerning land in Howden, East Yorkshire and land in Nottinghamshire (Joy 1975). There is however, nothing to securely link the two.

The grant of Norton probably included Stockton, Hartburn, Preston and later Carlton (Roberts 2008, 232), and Norton seems to have been the centre of another composite estate (Longstaffe 1855). Ulfketel's grant of Norton and its associated lands and their appearance in the *Boldon Book* suggest that the estate was not fragmented as a result of the incoming Scandinavians. The *Boldon Book* entry for Preston recorded that land was held by Orm son of Toki, both Old Norse names (BB 1982, 55) and that land at Carlton was held by William son of Orm,

again showing possible links to Scandinavia (BB 1982, 57). William's service, which was to bring a greyhound to the Bishop's Great Chase (BB 1982, 57) is highly suggestive of the type of service required in a composite estate (Roberts 2008, 172).

Ulfketel's ownership of Norton may relate to the earlier conquest and redistribution of land by Ragnall. Nearby Billingham was lost to the Community following Ragnall's victory at Corbridge and unlike the area ruled by Onlafbal which soon returned to the Community following Onlafbal's death, the area ruled by Scula, which incorporated both Billingham and Norton seems to have remained under Anglo-Scandinavian rule much longer. Billingham and its dependencies were only returned to the Community during the reign of William the Conqueror (Johnson-South 2001, 105) and Norton may have represented a similarly late restoration (Roberts 2008, 232).

That there was some level of Anglo-Scandinavian activity at Norton is suggested by the documented conquest and redistribution of land under Ragnall, the grant by Ulfketel, the documented individuals in the *Boldon Book* and the sculptural evidence. The estate seems to have survived the period of Anglo-Scandinavian activity, only to be broken up by later Bishops of Durham (Longstaffe 1855).

Figure 24 – *Part of a tenth century cross-shaft from Norton.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 125, no.694) (Reproduced with permission). This piece seems to share many similarities with the possible Anglo-Scandinavian carving known as Chester-Le-Street 07 (Cramp 1977, 134).

5.3.03 Billingham

The *HSC* recorded that Billingham, located in Hartness was founded by Bishop Ecgred (AD 830 to AD 846) (HSC 9). Sculpture from Billingham, which pre-dates Bishop Ecgred's episcopate, suggests an earlier monastic or ecclesiastical presence (Rollason 2000, 94). Symeon mentioned that Billingham and other '*vills'* were seized by Ælla, a Northumbrian king who ruled in AD 866 and AD 867 (Libellus Book II Chapter 6). The Community recovered Billingham, though how they did it is not clear. Later, Elfred, son of Brihtwulf, came seeking sanctuary with the Community after most likely fleeing from Scandinavians in the north west (HSC 22). Elfred was given lands including Billingham and its dependencies, suggesting that Billingham was the centre of a composite estate (HSC 22). Billinghamshire was probably one of the smaller estates (Roberts 2008, 228) and changed slightly in terms of size (Campey 1989).

Following Ragnall's victory at Corbridge, the Community lost Billingham, as it came under the rule of Scula, one of Ragnall's captains (HSC 23) and it is in this context of Scula's rule that the physical evidence is found.

The first, and arguably the most interesting piece of sculpture, is part of a cross-shaft from the first half of the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 48). Though the carving is worn so that most of the details are extremely difficult to make out, earlier antiquarian drawings accurately recorded what the sculpture depicted (Cramp 1977, 48). A figure holds two birds whilst a bar pierces him through his side (Cramp 1977, 48). The use of a bar to pierce the body is a form of Scandinavian ornamentation and the plain plait that surrounds the figure is Anglo-Scandinavian (Cramp 1977, 48). The appearance of birds has been

suggested as indicating Óðinn, since he was commonly depicted with birds (Kopár 2012, 115). The period in which this piece was produced may have overlapped with the rule of Scula. Ragnall and Onlafbal were referred to as pagan by the *HSC* (HSC 23) and Symeon referred to Scula as a pagan (Libellus Book II Chapter 16), so the Óðinn interpretation may be a possibility. A scene of the Crucifixion has also been suggested on the basis of parallels with similar scenes from Ireland and Nunburnholme in Yorkshire (Kopár 2012, 115). A final interpretation is that the scene may depict a secular or even ecclesiastical figure (Kopár 2012, 115).

The interpretation of Óðinn seems unclear given that the birds are the only identifying feature and it is not clear whether the bar represents a spear, which was a feature of depictions of Óðinn (Kopár 2012, 115). The lack of carvings with similar scenes makes it difficult to fully understand the piece and what it depicts. The strong Anglo-Scandinavian links would be highly suggestive of Scula's rule, since this was the main documented period of Anglo-Scandinavian rule at Billingham. The other carving is a grave marker possibly from the second half of the ninth century, which would place it at the very beginning of Scandinavian settlement in the area (Cramp 1977, 52). An understanding of this piece is difficult to come by since its date suggests it was from the earliest periods of Scandinavian settlement, but the motif would liken it to Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from Aycliffe and Gainford (Cramp 1977, 52) and suggest a very early date for the formation of Anglo-Scandinavian material, perhaps too early. However, it may be that this piece is linked in some way to the reign of Guthred, during which positive relationships were fostered between the Community and the Anglo-Scandinavians.

Unlike Onlafbal's reign, which was short with no clear long term impact, little suggests that Scula's reign was particularly short. The impact on the area is unclear given the differing accounts in the historical sources. The *HSC* seems to suggest that Scula's rule was not as threatening for the Community as Onlafbal's. Unlike Onlafbal who was described as a "son of the devil" (HSC 23) and "was an enemy, in whatever ways he was able, of God and St Cuthbert" (HSC 23), Scula was referred to as a "powerful warrior" (HSC 23).

Symeon however recorded that Scula "inflicted heavy and intolerable tributes on the unfortunate inhabitants" (Libellus Book II Chapter 16) and that the people of York later tried to tax the area that was once ruled by Scula in order to ease their royal tax burden (Libellus Book II Chapter 16). This act was referred to by Symeon as holding lawfully "what was done tyrannically by a heathen" (Libellus Book II Chapter 16). Scula was referred to as "a barbarian, a foreigner, and the enemy of the king of the English" (Libellus Book II Chapter 16).

Whilst parts of Symeon's account may have been embellished, there is probably a factual basis to Symeon's account, as there are to many of his other accounts (Fletcher 2003, 137). The lack of attention to Billingham given in the *HSC* may reflect the Community's emphasis on their main centres of activity, hence why the events involving Onlafbal at Chester-le-Street were recorded but events in the area of Scula's rule were not. Also, at the time of the composition of the *HSC*, Billingham was not in the Community's possession and so they may have seen little need or had little desire to go into detail about events at Billingham.

Scandinavian rule and possible presence at Billingham may have lasted for a long time since Symeon recorded that the Community only received Billingham back during William the Conqueror's reign (Johnson-South 2001, 105). Even though it has been suggested that the Community spent time trying to regain Billingham from the descendants of Elfred or Ælla, who made a claim to ownership of the site (McGuigan 2015) there may be reasons to suggest that Billingham remained an Anglo-Scandinavian possession.

Symeon's statement that Billingham was restored to the Community after having been "taken away by the violence of evil men" (Libellus Book III Chapter 20) would seem unlikely to apply to Elfred or his descendants since Elfred was granted land by the Community and seems to have been held in high esteem by the Community, serving and protecting them faithfully and loyally for many years. Finally, Symeon's statement about the tribute levying, by the people of York, on the area ruled by Scula suggests a link between York and the lands that Scula ruled.

The *HSC* recorded that Elfred was put to flight after the defeat at Corbridge (HSC 22). Fleeing westwards would have likely brought him into contact with those he had escaped from earlier and so would seem unlikely. Moving eastwards and southwards would have brought him into contact with Ragnall and his followers, Ragnall was recorded as having sacked York (Libellus Book II Chapter 16) and so these options seem unlikely. The only other option would seem to be to go north to Scotland, where his allies in the battle were from (HSC 22), meaning that Elfred likely had no connection with York and that it was unlikely that his descendants were pursuing a claim on Billingham.

As for Ælla's descendants pursuing a claim to control Billingham, this also seems unlikely. Firstly, Symeon's statement that Billingham was "taken away by the violence of evil men" (Libellus Book III Chapter 20), whilst appropriate for Ælla would seem to be a more fitting term for Ragnall and his followers. Ælla's seizure of Billingham was recorded by Symeon as, "For Osberht had with sacrilegious daring seized from Cuthbert's church Warkworth and Tillmouth, and Ælla had done the same with Billingham, Cliffe, and Wycliffe, and also Crayke." (Libellus Book II Chapter 6).

The *HSC* simply states that Ælla stole Billingham (HSC 10). There is certainly shock at the actions of Osberht and Ælla but Ælla's actions would not seem clearly to fit the description of "violence of evil men" (Libellus Book III Chapter 20). The language used to describe Ælla's actions was not nearly as forceful as that used to describe the actions of Ragnall and his followers. The use of violence to gain control of Billingham would seem to be a more appropriate reference to the Battle of Corbridge, the outcome of which resulted in Scula's control of Billingham. Additionally, the use of violence to gain control of Billingham would match with the documentary evidence for Scula and Onlafbal's rules. Scula was referred to as a tyrannical pagan, who "inflicted heavy and intolerable tributes on the unfortunate inhabitants" (Libellus Book II Chapter 16). Onlafbal was described as "more savage and cruel" (Libellus Book II Chapter 16), "molesting the bishop, community, and people of St Cuthbert with many injuries, and was persistently expropriating estates belonging by right to the bishopric," (Libellus Book II Chapter 16). Both the *HSC* and Symeon make clear Onlafbal's intense hatred of Christianity and of the Community of St Cuthbert. The actions of Scula and Onlafbal would seem to more clearly fit with Symeon's

statement that Billingham was “taken away by the violence of evil men” (Libellus Book III Chapter 20) than Ælla’s actions.

Furthermore, it would seem strange for Symeon’s statement about the return of Billingham by William the Conqueror, after it was “taken away by the violence of evil men” (Libellus Book III Chapter 20) to refer to Ælla since the Community regained possession of Billingham after Ælla’s death as they granted it to Elfred and there is no other documented loss of Billingham. Scula was also the last documented ruler of Billingham before it was returned to the Community.

Ælla’s descendants are not clear, with no documentary references to them and they may have perished fighting by his side in York in AD 867 or in Ragnall’s later purging of the city’s elite (Libellus Book II Chapter 16). This may have been a calculated move on Ragnall’s part to dispose of any potential Northumbrian resistance or rivals, since there seemed to be no Bernician resistance as Ragnall occupied the lands of Ealdred of Bamburgh (HSC 22) and it was only left to rid Deira of any rivals.

Symeon’s remarks about the people of York may indicate that Anglo-Scandinavian claims and or rule at Billingham would be more likely than Ælla’s descendants’ claims. The area from which the people of York tried to draw their taxation was referred to by Symeon as “that part of the land of St Cuthbert which Scula possessed” (Libellus Book II Chapter 16). Such a reference both by Symeon and the people of York to the exact lands held by Scula, would seem to indicate possible descendants or successors of Scula, claiming a right to tax formerly held lands.

It would seem strange to suggest that claims to Scula's lands were not from his descendants or successors but from the descendants of Elfred or Ælla who had no known connection with Scula. The fact that the inhabitants of York still believed they had the right to draw taxation from the area that Scula had taxed only seems to confirm further their links as his possible descendants or successors.

Finally, the fact that Billingham "taken away by the violence of evil men" (Libellus Book III Chapter 20) suggests more than one perpetrator. There is no indication that Osberht played any role in Ælla's taking of Billingham, with this reference being more appropriate to the actions of Ragnall and Scula since they were responsible for conquering, dividing and ruling the land.

The Anglo-Scandinavian impact on Billingham seems to have been limited. Symeon's statement that Billingham and its dependencies were granted to the Community (Libellus Book III Chapter 20) seems to confirm Billingham's status as the centre of a composite estate that survived intact into the Norman period.

Figure 25 – *Part of a cross-shaft from the first half of the tenth century from Billingham.* (Gibb 1867 Plate CXI). The piercing of the middle of the body by a bar seems to be a feature of Scandinavian art, whilst figures with birds on either shoulder appear on Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from Kirklevington in Yorkshire (Cramp 1977, 48). The plain plait shown on the panel below the individual being pierced seems to be a feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art and suggests that this piece was among an early group of Anglo-Scandinavian crosses as it bears similarities to other early Anglo-Scandinavian crosses from the Tees Valley (Cramp 1977, 48).

Figure 26 – *Part of a grave marker, possibly from the second half of the ninth century, from Billingham.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 18, no.91) (Reproduced with permission). The circle overlapping the cross-arms may suggest Anglo-Scandinavian influence as this feature appears on Anglo-Scandinavian cross-heads from Gainford and Aycliffe (Cramp 1977, 52).

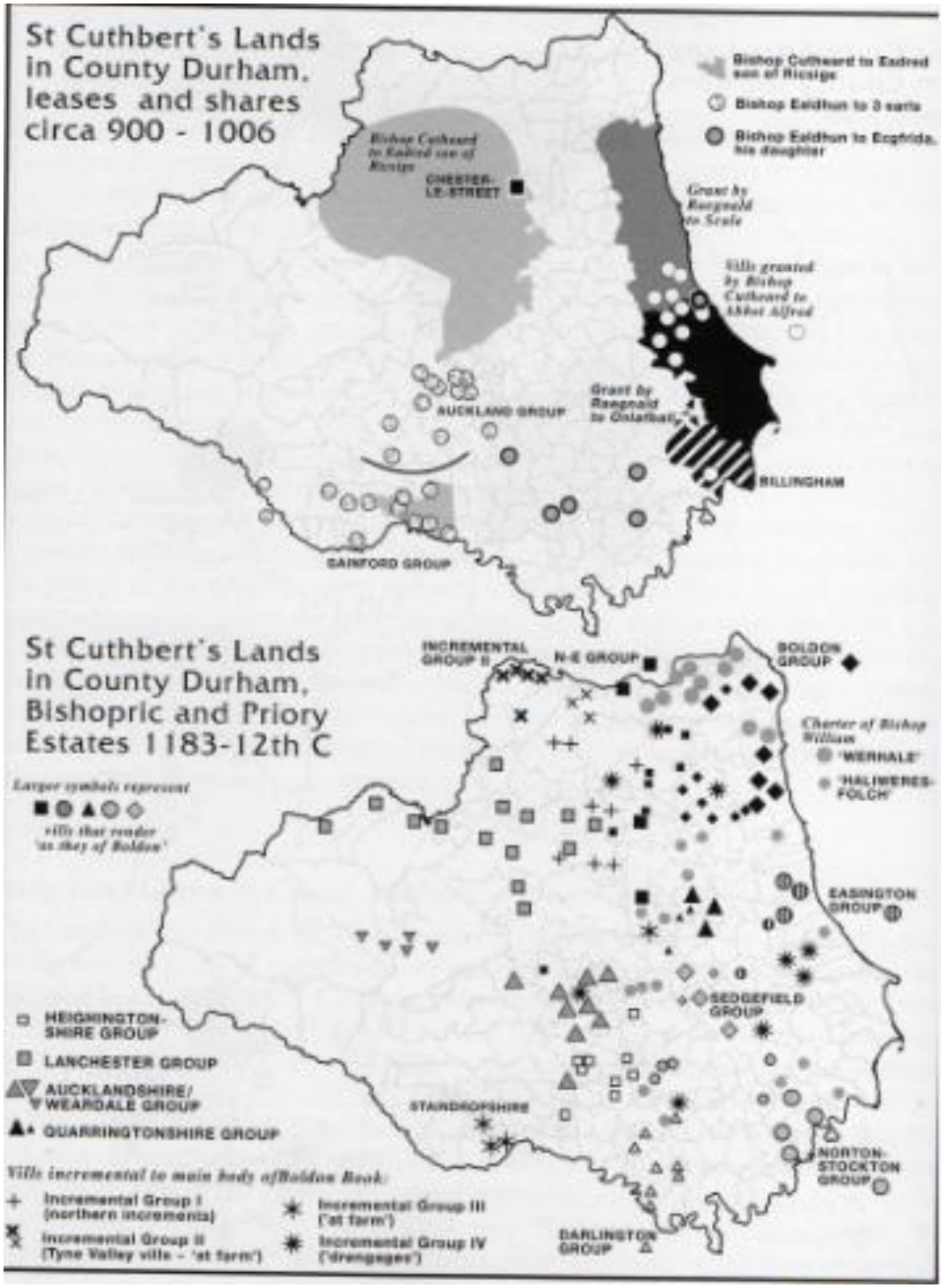

Figure 27 –*The Community of St Cuthbert's landholdings and leases in County Durham between the tenth and twelfth centuries.* (Roberts 2008, Fig 6.3) (Reproduced with permission). The grants to Scula and Onlafbal, which included Billingham are shown on the top map.

5.3.04 Sheraton

First recorded around AD 1040, Sheraton derives from the Old Norse personal name '*Scurfa'* and the Old English suffix *'tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2001, 111). A certain Earl Scurfa (Crawford 2013) was mentioned as a member of the coalition of Northumbrian Danes who perished at the battle of Tettenhall in AD 911 (Hjardar and Vike 2016, 263). Another Scurfa was referred to in *The History of the Kings of Norway* as being joint ruler of the Orkneys along with Thórir Tréskegg, having been granted power after Hallad who was sent by his father, Rognvald, to rule the place was unable to cope with the frequent Danish raids and subsequently left (Parker 2015, 72). Scurfa's joint reign did not seem to last long as both he and Thórir were killed in battle shortly after the arrival of Einar, another of Rognvald's sons (Hkr 27). Given his connection with Northumbria, it is likely that the Scurfa who perished in AD 911 would be the more plausible of the two to be associated with Sheraton, though there is no clear evidence for this association.

Sheraton was given by the Community to Elfred when he came to them seeking sanctuary, most likely from Scandinavians in the north west (HSC 22). Elfred held these lands until Ragnall's victory at Corbridge in either AD 913 or AD 914 (HSC 22). Given this situation, it would seem to be difficult to explain how Sheraton could be a Scandinavian acquisition. Sheraton would have come into the Community's possession at a maximum of thirty seven years after it was acquired by Anglo-Scandinavians, and that is assuming that Sheraton was acquired by Anglo-Scandinavians in AD 876 at the beginning of the recorded period of Scandinavian settlement, which seems unlikely. There is no record of a donation or purchase of Sheraton by the Community and it is unlikely that they

would have taken it by force. How and why this settlement came into the Community's possession remains a mystery. Sheraton may have remained in the Community's possession during the rest of the period of Anglo-Scandinavian activity since it was recorded in the *Boldon Book* (BB 1982, 53).

5.3.05 Amerston

Amerston is constructed of the Old Norse personal name is *'Eymund'* and the Old English suffix *'tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement. Symeon of Durham mentions an individual named Amund who was one of the leaders of the great fleet of Danes, Frisians and heathens that came to Northumbria (Libellus Book II, Chapter 6) though his link with the village of Amerston is speculative. Furthermore, Amerston was first recorded around AD 1225, over a century and a half after the Norman Conquest (Watts 2001, 1) bringing into question the link between Amerston's place-name and earlier possible Scandinavian settlement.

5.3.06 Throston

Throston derives from *'Thori'*, an Old Danish personal name and the Old English suffix *'tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlment. There are recorded instances of individuals named Thori, such as the Buckinghamshire thegn who in AD 1066 was recorded as a housecarl of King Edward (Hooper 2000), the acquaintance of Erik Bloodaxe, King of Northumbria or the Danish pirate mentioned earlier who ruled the Orkneys with Scurfa (Parker 2015, 72). These individuals likely do not impact the study area. A date of the beginning of the fourteenth century for the

first recording of Throston (Watts 2001, 125) only further reduces the possibility of Throston being named during the period of Scandinavian settlement.

5.3.07 Blakeston

Blakeston, first recorded around the beginning of the twelfth century, is composed of the Old Norse personal name '*Bleikr'* meaning pale one and the Old English suffix *'tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2001, 13). There is no clear evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity at the site and it was recorded as belonging to the Convent at Durham in the twelfth century (Aird 1991).

5.3.08 Greatham

Evidence from Greatham consists of the arm of a ring-headed cross from the mid-tenth to early eleventh century (Cramp 1977, 90). Little of this piece has survived, with what has, sharing similarities with Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from Stonegrave in North Yorkshire (Cramp 1977, 90). There is little to suggest that Greatham was affected by Anglo-Scandinavian activity.

Figure 28 –*Arm of a ring headed cross from the mid-tenth to early eleventh century from Greatham.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 75, no.375) (Reproduced with permission). The interlace motifs may suggest Anglo-Scandinavian influence and links to carvings from Yorkshire (Cramp 1977, 90).

5.4 Sadberge

There are two Sadberges relevant to this study. One is the settlement called Sadberge, whilst the other is the Scandinavian territorial unit, the wapentake of Sadberge. Sadberge, which means flat-topped hill, derives from the Old Norse words *'sate'* and *'berg'* (Watts 2001, 107). Wapentakes were administrative centres founded by Danes who settled in England. The word literally means 'Weapon taking' and refers to the system by which men gave military service to a lord in return for land (Rollason 2003, 244), for example when Scula and Onlafbal, captains in Ragnall's army, were granted *'vills'* between the Tees and the Tyne in return for their military service (Rollason 2003, 244).

Sadberge is the only securely known wapentake north of the Tees but Bateson recorded Bamburgh as a wapentake, basing his conclusion on letters from AD 1369, sent between John de Carlele, William de Lackenby and Nicholas Rossels, which concerned the administration of the wapentake of Bamburgh (Bateson 1893, 1). Anderson rejected this notion and stated that references to Bamburgh as a wapentake are sporadic and are analogies rather than accurate descriptions (Anderson 1934, 22).

The wapentake of Sadberge covered much of the two important estates of Gainfordshire and Hartness (Young 1998). The western area of the wapentake focusing around Gainfordshire produced significantly more sculpture and often of a higher quality than the eastern area focusing on the estate of Hartness. This may relate to the economic value of the areas. The monastery at Hartlepool was in decline by the ninth century (Loveluck 2007), due to Scandinavian raids, loss of

patronage and a lack of resources to draw on (Loveluck 2007), suggesting that the area was economically unappealing to new incomers, offering them few opportunities. It was not just Hartlepool that may have suffered economically. The impact of any possible Anglo-Scandinavian activity at Billingham prior to Scula's rule is not fully understood but Billingham was seized by King Ælla sometime between AD 862 and AD 867 (Cramp 2002). The impact this seizure had is not clear. Historical sources may indicate Ælla's impact, since he is described as seizing Billingham along with other ecclesiastical sites out of hatred for St Cuthbert (Cramp 2002), possibly indicating that these sites suffered during Ælla's reign. Crayke, which was also seized, may have lost land as a result of Ælla's activities since Earl Thured's grant of land to the monastery may represent the return of land lost during Ælla's reign (Page 1923,122). Symeon's statement that Scula, "inflicted heavy and intolerable tributes on the unfortunate inhabitants" (Libellus Book II Chapter 16) may suggest that the area lost many valuable resources, with little or no reinvestment.

Geographical location may have also played a prominent role in the economic fortunes of Hartness. The area is located to the south of the luxury northern trade network and to the north of the trade centre at York. No major river routes or Roman roads ran through the area (Britnell 2002), making trade and travel slower and more costly. In later times, the area would largely be devoid of markets and boroughs (Britnell 2002) which may indicate its unsuitability at that period for the type of trade that was carried out. Gainfordshire had a number of key river routes allowing trade to be facilitated to both the east and the west (Britnell 2002) and there is no indication that this area suffered from the kind of attacks Hartness did, which would have damaged its economic base.

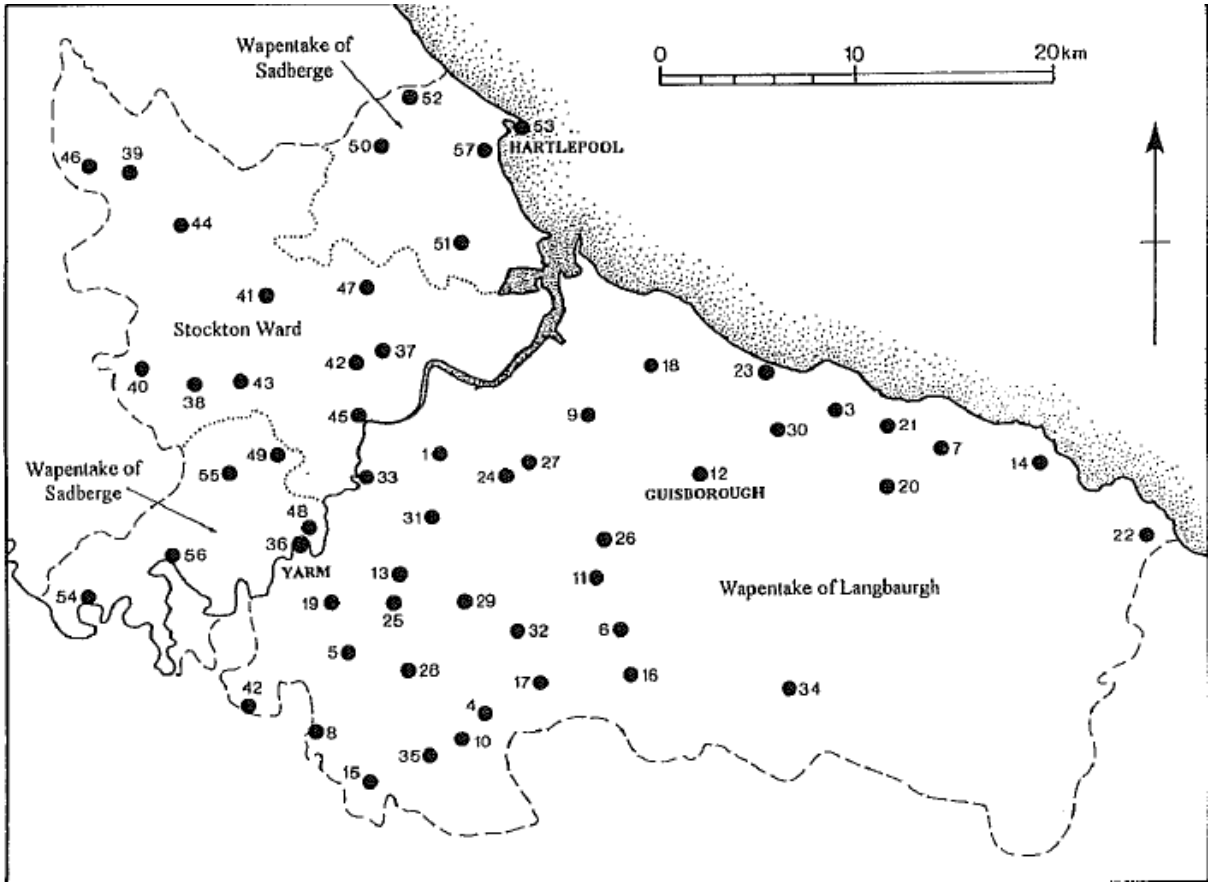

Figure 29 –*The Wapentake of Sadberge.* (Daniels 1996 Fig 1) (Reproduced with permission). Wapentakes were a Scandinavian administrative unit. There is little evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the eastern part of the wapentake, the area including Hartlepool and Hartness, especially when compared with the evidence from the western region of the wapentake that incorporated Gainford and the surrounding area.

5.5 Other grants of land and sites with evidence

5.5.01 Darlington

The *HSC* and Symeon's *History of the Church of Durham* record that the Community received the '*vill'* of Darlington from Styr son of Ulf (HSC 29) at the beginning of the eleventh century (Newman 2005). Like Sockburn and Gainford, Darlington was located close to a key crossing point of the River Tees (Newman 2005), locations which seem to have been favoured by Anglo-Scandinavians. With the '*vill'* of Darlington came land at High Coniscliffe, Cockerton, Haughton-le-Skerne, Northmannabi, Ketton and Great Lumley (HSC 29). Before donating this land to the Community, Styr first had to seek the permission of King Æthelred (HSC 29). Little is known about Styr though the historical text *De obsessione Dunelmi* describes him as a wealthy citizen of York (Johnson-South 2001, 111). In addition to both his and his father's Scandinavian personal names and Styr's residence in York, an area of known Scandinavian settlement, the land that he donated was measured in units adopted by the incoming Scandinavian settlers (Craster 1954).

Apart from Coniscliffe, the other '*vills'* were recorded in the *Boldon Book* in addition to three other '*vills'* not mentioned in the *HSC,* which now formed part of the Darlington grouping (Johnson-South 2001, 112). One of these later '*vills'* was Whessoe, where the *Boldon Book* recorded that two brothers, Orm and Toki, held land (BB 1982, 63). Both names are of Old Norse origin. The '*vills'* making up the Darlington estate formed a continuous and coherent block of settlements and the *Boldon Book* recorded that tenants at three of these '*vills'* had obligations commonly associated with composite estates (Johnson-South 2001, 112),

suggesting that either a new composite estate was being created or an older, fragmented estate was being reconstructed (Johnson-South 2001, 112).

Whilst it is not certain, it remains a strongly possibility that there was an earlier Darlington composite estate which was broken up as a result of the incoming Scandinavians. Given that both Styr and his father Ulf have Scandinavian names and were from York, an area of known Scandinavian settlement, it is possible that the composite estate of Darlington was fragmented and may have come into Styr's family's possession during the period of Scandinavian settlement in the region.

Many of the places mentioned in relation to Darlington were early settlements. Though no remains from Darlington's Anglo-Saxon past can be seen now (Cookson 2010), excavations at Greenbank, Darlington revealed an Anglo-Saxon period cemetery (Miket and Pocock 1976) and Anglo-Saxon sculptures have been found close to St Cuthbert's church in Darlington, with a possible Anglo-Saxon church in what is now the market area (Cookson 2010). Excavations in the twentieth century revealed mid-eleventh century burials in Darlington's market place, furthering the idea of an Anglo-Saxon church in the area (Newman 2005). The presence of this burial rite suggests that Darlington was the centre of an early *'shire'* unit, with important political and economic functions (Newman 2005), since burial rites were controlled by the central or mother churches of estates (Härke 2001). For a significant period of time, a church existed in Darlington prior to Bishop du Puiset's reestablishment of St Cuthbert's church in AD 1192 (Cookson 2010).

5.5.02 Haughton-le-Skerne

The *HSC* recorded how Styr donated the '*vill'* of Darlington to the Community along with other lands he had purchased including some at Haughton-le-Skerne, (HSC 29), suggesting that he was already in possession of the '*vill'* of Darlington unlike the other lands which he purchased. The earlier owner of land at Haughton-le-Skerne is unclear. It would seem unlikely that Styr would have purchased land from the Community of St Cuthbert only to give it back to them. The *Boldon Book* recorded that land at Haughton-le-Skerne was held by Walter son of Sigga (BB 1982, 63), Sigga being an Old Norse name.

The only piece of sculpture is the upper part of a cross-shaft, from the first half of the tenth century, which features Scandinavian Jellinge style animals, similar to those on carvings from Sockburn (Cramp 1977, 103). This cross-shaft is the highest quality and earliest piece from the site (Cramp 1977, 103). The *'skerne'* element in the place-name may suggest an Anglo-Scandinavian presence since the development of this name follows Scandinavian phonetic patterns and outside areas of Scandinavian settlement this developed into the word *'shire'* (Pons-Sanz 2000, 34).

Evidence from the other *'vills'* may provide contextual information about Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the area. Charters forged in the name of Bishop William of Saint Calais but which do contain some historical accuracies, mention how the Bishop acquired an interest in Ketton in exchange for the '*vill'* of Winlaton from an individual named Meldred (Aird 1998, 224). The origins of the name are uncertain though they may be British (Latimer 2010). Meldred's grandson, who was granted Staindropshire by Durham's Prior and Convent in AD

1131, was named Dolfin (Aird 1998, 224). Dolfin is an Old Norse name, which whilst quite rare in Scandinavia, is reasonably common in England (Miller 2012, 100). The story of Meldred and Dolfin suggests not only that the lands such as Ketton were not in the hands of the Community of St Cuthbert but that they were no longer associated with the other '*vills'* in the composite estate and had been redistributed to individuals who seem to have had some connection with Scandinavia. Haughton-le-Skerne may have suffered a similar fate.

Figure 30 – *Upper part of a cross-shaft from the first half of the tenth century from Haughton-le-Skerne.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photogtapher T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 86, no.454) (Reproduced with permission). This piece seems to have been influenced by an early form of the Scandinavian Jellinge style, with this piece having the strongest Scandinavian influence from all the carvings from Haughton-le-Skerne (Cramp 1977, 103). It is possible that this piece was produced elsewhere and brought to Haughton-le-Skerne since it is the only piece of sculpture from Haughton-le-Skerne to be carved on fine-grained red sandstone (Cramp 1977, 103).

5.5.03 Coniscliffe

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (hereafter ASC) recorded that three royal officials were killed at Coniscliffe in AD 778 (ASC sa.778). Despite the sparsity of references, it has been suggested that Coniscliffe was located close to an important Anglo-Saxon royal centre. Royal centres were often located close to Roman roads, with Coniscliffe being close to Dere Street. The dedication of the church to St Oswald, a former Northumbrian king, may suggest that Anglo-Saxon kings associated themselves with their saintly predecessor and promoted his cult, rather than later lords dedicating the church to a largely forgotten and obscure saint (Cambridge 1999). The place-name Coniscliffe means the king's cliff or bank in Old English, though there has been later Old Norse influence on the king element (Mills 2003, 128).

The first carving, part of a cross-head or cross-shaft, may date from the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century, though it is difficult to tell since most of the carvings' surface is worn (Cramp 1977, 60). The other carving, part of a cross-shaft from the first half of the tenth century is in slightly better condition (Cramp 1977, 60&61). In its current position in St Edwin's church only one face is visible, with an individual with raised hands, wearing a knee length tunic, being displayed (Cramp 1977, 60&61). The style of the figure links it to carvings from Dinsdale in County Durham and Finghall in Yorkshire and places it in the Anglo-Scandinavian tradition (Cramp 1977, 60&61).

Sculptural evidence suggests limited Anglo-Scandinavian activity around Coniscliffe, making the lack of evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian presence at such an important site as Coniscliffe, where Old Norse has influenced the place-name, puzzling.

Figure 31 – *Part of a cross-shaft or head, possibly from the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century from Coniscliffe.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 30, no.155) (Reproduced with permission).

Figure 32 – *Part of a cross-shaft from the first half of the tenth century from Coniscliffe.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 30, no.157) (Reproduced with permission). The style in which the individual is carved at the top of this piece indicates that this piece derives from Anglo-Scandinavian artistic traditions (Cramp 1977, 60&61).

5.5.04 Archdeacon Newton, Darlington

Evidence from Archdeacon Newton consists of a Scandinavian style lead weight (The British Museum, n.d.), which indicates Anglo-Scandinavian presence given its association with a Scandinavian economy (Kershaw 2017). Furthermore, nearby Darlington, as a result of its status as a centre of an estate, would have been an "informal centre for trade" (Newman 2005) adding credence to the idea of Anglo-Scandinavian mercantile activity in the area. Conclusions about the Anglo-Scandinavian impact on Archdeacon Newton cannot be drawn from the presence of one lead weight, but evidence from the surrounding area certainly seems to suggest that there was an active Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the area.

Figure 33 – *Scandinavian lead weight from the ninth to eleventh century from Archdeacon Newton, Darlington.* (The British Museum 2012). Again, like the weight from Piercebridge, this weight is both Scandinavian in style and part of an alternative Scandinavian economy (Kershaw 2017).

5.5.05 Sockburn

Sockburn was an important Anglo-Saxon monastery with the *ASC* recording that Sockburn was the scene of the consecration of Higbald as Bishop of Lindisfarne in AD 780-781, following the resignation of Cynebald (ASC sa.780-781). Symeon recorded that in AD 796 the priest Eanbald was elected as Bishop of York at Sockburn (HR sa.796). Sockburn was also geographically important, with its fording point in the River Tees known as the Sockburn Wath offering potential settlers both access to and control of a key crossing point from Yorkshire to the Tees Valley (Went and Jecock 2007, 1). Sockburn church, where sculptural evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian presence has been found, is located in a loop of the River Tees, surrounded by steep woods, offering any potential settlers in a new and foreign landscape, an enclosed and relatively secure place of residence (Went and Jecock 2007, 5).

There are few other documentary references to Sockburn, though it is possible to reconstruct elements of the site's history. Sockburn may have been part of a composite estate based on Brompton (Johnson-South 2001, 115) and it was probably during the time of the Scandinavian settlement that this estate was fragmented and the Community lost Sockburn, with it becoming part of the wider territory of the wapentake of Sadberge (Went and Jecock 2007, 9). Symeon and the *HSC* recorded that Sockburn was granted along with other lands to the Community of St Cuthbert by an individual named Snaculf son of Cytel (Libellus Book III Chapter 4) (HSC 30). Given that both the benefactor of this donation and his father have Old Norse names, it is plausible to suggest that they were either Scandinavian or of Scandinavian descent, with their ancestors possibly being

connected with the Community's loss of the site, though this is unclear (Aird 1998, 49).

Between the eighth and eleventh centuries Sockburn produced large quantities of sculpture, twenty eight pieces in total to date (Cramp 1977, 135-156). Of these, six are of interest for the study of Anglo-Scandinavian presence. Two of the pieces, a tenth century cross-shaft and a late ninth to mid-tenth century hogback may show Anglo-Scandinavian influence but are not as telling as the other pieces of sculpture, which show stronger Scandinavian influence (Cramp 1977, 138-141).

More informative than these is a late tenth century incomplete slab whose Anglo-Scandinavian styles are strongly indicative of links to York (Cramp 1977, 135&136). Connections to Yorkshire can be seen in part of a cross-shaft and cross-neck dating to the first half of the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 136&137). This piece depicts two scenes, one showing a man riding a horse whilst holding a bird and the other a man holding a shield (Cramp 1977, 136&137). The horse and rider motif is common in Anglo-Scandinavian iconography (Cramp 1977, 136&137). Whilst there are similar carvings from the region, namely Hart, Gainford and Chester-Le-Street, there are none that are significantly similar and have the same major characteristics (Cramp 1977, 136&137). Sockburn's piece differs from others due to the lack of a warrior's helmet and spear. Parallels have been drawn with carvings from Leeds and Staveley in Yorkshire due to the presence of figures with birds (Cramp 1977, 136&137). The motif may depict Óðinn, as he is commonly depicted with bird and serpent. Alternatively, it may be a heroic warrior. Comparisons have been drawn with the picture-stones of

Gotland, namely *Klinte Hunninge*, which depicts a woman holding a horn whilst greeting a mounted warrior (Cramp 1977, 136&137).

An alternative interpretation is of a scene of reconciliation and possibly of land taking (Cramp 2010), representing one of the depicted stages of a warrior's life (Cramp 2010). In Anglo-Saxon sculpture, secular figures were often depicted from the side, whilst religious figures were depicted from the front (Cramp 2010). The front facing figure in the distinctive dress has been interpreted as a cleric, perhaps receiving land from the warrior or receiving his conversion (Cramp 2010). This is a possibility since the dating of the piece from the first half of the tenth century would match the period of Scandinavian conversion. There is however, no record of the transfer of Sockburn during the period in which this piece was produced. Furthermore, it would seem strange for a piece to be produced at Sockburn, commemorating possible land taking and the return of land, up to over a century (Kopár 2012, 117) before the Community of St Cuthbert were granted Sockburn by Snaculf. Unless this piece refers to land taking elsewhere or is a generic motif, with no link to any specific location, it seems that the heroic warrior or Óðinn interpretation are more likely.

Whether this carving depicts Óðinn, a mounted warrior or a scene of reconciliation, the iconography and style seem to be clearly Scandinavian (Cramp 1977, 136&137).

The other two remaining pieces of sculpture reinforce the possibility of Anglo-Scandinavian presence at Sockburn. Both pieces are hogbacks, though one is incomplete. The earliest of the two dates from the last quarter of the ninth to the first quarter of the tenth century and was found in complete form (Cramp 1977,

143&144). Interpretations of the iconography, which seems to depict two different scenes both of men surrounded by beasts, have varied. Both interpretations suggest depictions of religious scenes but from different religious traditions. Christian iconography, with scenes of Daniel in the lions' den and a possible Crucifixion scene may be shown, with the stone representing a sort of Christianised version of a Germanic legend (Cramp 1977, 143&144).

There may be problems with such an interpretation given the dating of this piece. Whilst Daniel in the lions' den and Crucifixion scenes do take different forms, events going on during this period suggest that these interpretations may not be the case. During the initial Scandinavian settlement of Northumbria in the 870s, the Anglo-Scandinavians, at least those in Northumbria, were not particularly receptive to Christianity. They are recorded as having destroyed churches and monasteries, stolen church lands and left the area in general devastation (ASC sa.793 and ASC sa.873). The reign of Guthred and his amiability, especially towards the Community of St Cuthbert, seems to stand out as the exception among the hostile actions of the likes of Halfdan, Ragnall, Scula and Onlafbal. Such an atmosphere during the late ninth and early tenth century makes the possibility of Christian iconography being depicted less likely.

Alternatively, the carving may depict Scandinavian mythology. A scene from Ragnarök in which Týr and Garm, the hound, fight the wolf Fenrir may be depicted on one side with the other side depicting beasts who were said to have joined the wolf (Cramp 1977, 143&144). The individual on this side may represent the lord or master of animals, a character which is seen in many cultures (Cramp 1977, 143&144). Like other pieces from Sockburn, this piece has stylistic and iconographic similarities with carvings from others areas of Scandinavian

settlement, namely Cumbria and the north west (Cramp 1977, 143&144), but also further afield, to Gotland where the picture-stones such as *Buttle Änge* bearing a striking resemblance to this hogback (Cramp 1977, 143&144). Given the hostility and seeming lack of conversions among the Anglo-Scandinavians at this time it seems that this interpretation is more likely.

Both the Christian and pagan interpretation suggest Anglo-Scandinavian presence, as do the links with other areas of Scandinavian settlement and Scandinavia itself. The carving also suggests a presence or at least a degree of familiarity with the Sockburn area. This piece as well as the piece discussed above and the piece discussed below are clearly derived from Scandinavian iconography and stylistic traditions, suggestive of a strong Anglo-Scandinavian familiarity with Sockburn and possibly a permanent presence.

The final piece, the lower portion of a hogback dating from the first half of the tenth century, seems to depict a bird, and a woman with outstretched hands (Cramp 1977, 141). Comparisons between this carving and the part of a cross-shaft and cross-neck also from Sockburn have led to suggestions that both these pieces depict a hero being received into Valhöll, a feasting hall for the dead in Scandinavian mythology (Cramp 1977, 141). This scene has been interpreted as representing the hopeful outcome for the deceased individual in the afterlife or possibly a symbol of social standing in Scandinavian culture (Kopár 2012, 132). The dress of the woman is clearly derived from the Scandinavian iconographic tradition and the dress style has parallels both in England and also Scandinavia (Cramp 1977, 141). Such a clear Scandinavian style, the parallels with carvings from areas of Scandinavian settlement in England and Scandinavia itself, coupled

with the other Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from Sockburn is highly suggestive of more than just mere influence and hints at some form of presence.

One possible interpretation of the sculptural evidence from Sockburn suggests the presence of merchants. Work on collections of sculpture from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire suggests sites with numerous pieces of sculpture indicate the presence of a number of elites or elite families (Stocker 2000). Given the location of many sites in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire close to rivers and markets, these new elites were probably traders (Stocker 2000). Sockburn was a key crossing point of the Tees (Went and Jecock 2007, 44) and there seems to have been a long shingle beach in existence at some point, similar to sites in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (Went and Jecock 2007, 44). There is no evidence for a market at Sockburn in the tenth century, though it is a possibility given its key location (Went and Jecock 2007, 44). That these monuments were the creation of Anglo-Scandinavian mercantile patrons is unclear, though the sculpture may suggest a continuous Anglo-Scandinavian presence at the site.

Evidence from Sockburn seems to suggest some form of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the area. Sculpture often depicts scenes from Scandinavian culture or religion in terms which would be accessible and understandable to Anglo-Scandinavians. Scenes are often depicted in a Scandinavian style with parallels between sculpture from Sockburn and areas of known Scandinavian settlement and Scandinavia. Sockburn lies on County Durham's southern border with North Yorkshire, an area of known settlement and bears many similarities to sites such as Gainford and Darlington, which have provided evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity. All three sites are located at or close to key crossing points of the River Tees and were all most likely parts of

earlier composite estates. The sculpture dates from the last quarter of the ninth century to the late tenth century suggesting a strong Anglo-Scandinavian link with the area and possibly a permanent Anglo-Scandinavian presence. Finally, the grant of Sockburn to the Community by Snaculf, a Scandinavian individual or an individual of Scandinavian origin only strengthens the claims made on the basis of the sculpture, that Sockburn seems to have been significantly impacted by Anglo-Scandinavian presence.

Figure 34 – *Late tenth century incomplete slab possibly an unfinished cross-slab, from Sockburn.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 129, no.705) (Reproduced with permission). The beast or creature motif on this piece indicates Anglo-Scandinavian artistic influence and links this carving to Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from York, Nunburnholme in Yorkshire, Folkton in Yorkshire and Gainford (Cramp 1977, 135&136).

Figure 35 – *Part of a cross-shaft and neck from the first half of the tenth century from Sockburn – Face A (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 130, no.710) (Reproduced with permission). The horse and rider motif seems to have been a popular theme in Anglo-Scandinavian art (Cramp 1977, 136&137). The bird and serpent are common characteristics of Óðinn, so he could be depicted here. Alternatively, the motif may depict the welcoming of a heroic warrior given the similarities between this carving and the Gotlandic stone Klinte Hunninge, where a warrior is welcomed by a woman holding a horn (Cramp 1977, 136&137). Whatever scene is depicted, both the scene and the artistic style seem to be clearly Scandinavian (Cramp 1977 136&137).

Figure 36 – *Part of a cross-shaft and neck from the first half of the tenth century from Sockburn –Face C (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 130, no.712) (Reproduced with permission). There are two individuals depicted on this scene but only the individual right can be clearly seen. This individual carries a shield and is dressed in a short tunic (Cramp 1977, 136&137). This scene shows Scandinavian artistic styles and draws comparisons with carvings from Leeds or Staveley in Yorkshire where similar scenes are depicted (Cramp 1977, 136&137). Other elements of the carving such as the ring chain pattern also indicate Scandinavian influence (Cramp 1977, 136&137).

Figure 37 – *A tenth century cross-shaft from Sockburn.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 136, no.734) (Reproduced with permission). Anglo-Scandinavian influence may possibly be indicated by the use of a looped swag and animal head to separate the decorated and undecorated parts of the cross-shaft (Cramp 1977, 138&139).

Figure 38 – *Late ninth to mid-tenth century hogback from Sockburn.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 139, no.745) (Reproduced with permission). The horse and rider motif, as mentioned earlier, seems to have been a popular theme for Anglo-Scandinavian carvings (Cramp 1977, 140&141).

Figure 39 – *Part of the lower part of a hogback from the first half of the tenth century from Sockburn.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 138, no.741) (Reproduced with permission). This piece may be linked to Sockburn 03, where a woman with a horn welcomed a man and it may be that this piece represents the welcoming of a warrior into Valhöll (Cramp 1977, 141). In addition to depicting a possible scene from Scandinavian mythology, the style of the woman's dress is clearly Scandinavian with similar depictions found on carvings both in England and Scandinavia (Cramp 1977, 141).

Figure 40 –*Klinte Hunninge picture stone from Gotland.*(Faith-Ell 1933). The motif on the bottom left hand corner of this carving seems to depict a woman holding a horn whilst welcoming a man who is holding a bird and has led to suggestions of similarities between this piece and Sockburn 03 (Cramp 1977, 136&137). Sockburn 15 which seems to depict a woman holding a horn, possibly welcoming a hero into Valhöll may be related to both Klinte Hunninge and Sockburn 03 (Cramp 1977, 141). Other carvings from Sockburn such as Sockburn 21 have drawn comparisons with other Gotlandic pictures stones such as Buttle Änge (Cramp 1977, 143&144).

Figure 41 – *Hogback from the last quarter of the ninth to the first quarter of the tenth century from Sockburn – Face A (Long).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 146, no.767) (Reproduced with permission). The interpretation of this piece is unclear with both a Christian scene and a pagan scene from Scandinavian mythology being suggested (Cramp 1977, 143&144). The depiction of beasts with sharp protruding teeth and pointed jaws is a Scandinavian artistic feature and the thin beasts facing backwards is a feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art, with similar depictions on carvings from Cumbria and the Gotlandic picture stone Buttle Änge (Cramp 1977, 143&144). Other Scandinavian artistic features can be seen in the way the feet of the beasts are depicted or the way the human face and figures are carved (Cramp 1977, 143&144). Overall, there seems to have been significant Scandinavian artistic influence on this piece (Cramp 1977, 143&144).

Figure 42 – *Hogback from the last quarter of the ninth to the first quarter of the tenth century from Sockburn – Face C (Long).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 146, no.768) (Reproduced with permission). The motif on this side seems to be a continuation of the scene on Face A, possibly depicting the lord of animals, a character common in many cultures (Cramp 1977, 143&144). Again, there is strong Scandinavian artistic influence on this side and it may be that this piece was a reinterpretation of a Scandinavian mythological story in Christian terms (Cramp 1977, 143&144).

5.5.06 Aycliffe

Aycliffe was another important Anglo-Saxon monastery and the remains of the Anglo-Saxon church are still present (Morris 1978). References in the *ASC* to synods in AD 782 and AD 788 at a place called *Aclea* may refer to Aycliffe (Morris 1978). The *HSC* mentioned a place called Alclit which was given to the Community by Cnut, with some taking this to be Aycliffe, though it is more likely to be Auckland (Morris 1978).

Aycliffe may be referenced in the grant of land given to Uhtred by Bishop Aldhun when Uhtred married Ecgfrida, the Bishop's daughter, as recorded in *De obsessione Dunelmi* (Morris 1978). Earl Siward laid claim to the Aycliffe estate as well as others on the basis of his marriage to Æflæda, Uhtred and Ecgfrida's granddaughter (Aird 1998, 163). Later Robert de Mowbray gave up his half of his right of taking thieves and breakers of the peace in an exchange with Bishop William of Saint Calais (Aird 1998, 163). The lands on which these rights were given up included Aycliffe and its dependencies (Aird 1998, 163). This exchange between the Bishop and Robert de Mowbray may have been the settling of an ownership dispute which was caused when Scott, son of Ælstan donated Aclea and its associated holdings to the Community of St Cuthbert (Morris 1978). These lands may have come into Scott's possession through inheritance. Scott's father Ælstan, and his relative Esbrid received these lands, formerly held by their relative Eadred on behalf of the Community of St Cuthbert. Following Eadred's death at the Battle of Corbridge, the lands were given by the victorious Ragnall to Ælstan and Esbrid (Morris 1978) (HSC 24).

The episode of Scott's grant, as recorded in the *Durham Liber Vitae*, seems to have prompted Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumbria, to question

whether Scott was able to make such a grant since he was a tenant of the Earl (Aird 1998, 163). It is possible that before the Bishop and earl's agreement that southern County Durham or at least significant parts of it were under the control of the earls of Northumbria (Aird 1998, 163) and that attempts were being made by the Community, through their purchase of Aycliffe as well as of other sites, such as Sockburn, Great Smeaton and Escomb to further strengthen their position in southern County Durham, since the lands purchased form a fairly solid block of land (Morris 1978).

Textual evidence does not suggest an Anglo-Scandinavian presence at Aycliffe and neither does the sculptural evidence. Aycliffe has produced a lower part of a cross-shaft and an incomplete cross-shaft (Cramp 1977, 41&44). Of the two pieces, the incomplete cross-shaft shows Anglo-Scandinavian stylistic influences more clearly (Cramp 1977, 41&44). Both pieces date from the late tenth to early eleventh century (Cramp 1977, 41&44).

Aycliffe then, while it seems to have been alienated from the Community following Ragnall's victory at Corbridge, does not seem to have had any clear Anglo-Scandinavian presence. This may have been because the land was given to Eadred's sons who were both Anglo-Saxons, though why it should have taken Eadred's grandson rather than his son to return the land to the Community remains a mystery.

Figure 43 – *Lower part of a cross-shaft from the last quarter of the tenth century to the first quarter of the eleventh century from Aycliffe – Face A (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 7, no.25) (Reproduced with permission). The portrayal of cup and sponge bearer in a grotesque form may indicate that this piece is from the Anglo-Scandinavian period since such portrayals were popular then (Cramp 1977, 41).

Figure 44 – *Lower part of a cross-shaft from the last quarter of the tenth century to the first quarter of the eleventh century from Aycliffe – Face B (Narrow).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 7, no.26) (Reproduced with permission).

Figure 45 – *Lower part of a cross-shaft from the last quarter of the tenth century to the first quarter of the eleventh century from Aycliffe – Face C (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 8, no.27) (Reproduced with permission). The binding of the figures shown at the bottom of this carving shows was a feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art (Cramp 1977, 41).

Figure 46 – *Lower part of a cross-shaft from the last quarter of the tenth century to the first quarter of the eleventh century from Aycliffe – Face D (Narrow).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 8, no.28) (Reproduced with permission). The twisted lip of the creature indicates Anglo-Scandinavian influence since this characteristic was a feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art (Cramp 1977, 41).

Figure 47 – *Late tenth or early eleventh century incomplete cross-shaft from Aycliffe.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 11, no.33) (Reproduced with permission). This piece bears many similarities to Aycliffe 01 but seems to have been more influenced by Anglo-Scandinavian artistic traditions (Cramp 1977, 44). Such Anglo-Scandinavian influence can be seen in the figures being portrayed as being linked in a block or by the bar which pierces the bodies through the middle (Cramp 1977, 44). Similar influences can be seen on carvings such as Gainford 01, Gainford 03 and Billingham 01 (Cramp 1977, 44).

5.5.07 Thrislington

Thrislington derives from the Old Norse personal name '*Thorsteinn'* or the Old Danish personal name '*Thursten'* and the Old English suffix *'tūn'* (Watts 2001, 125). Thirslington is not mentioned in historical sources until AD 1262 and there seems to be no evidence of occupation prior to the twelfth century (Oosthuizen 2010).

5.5.08 Ferryhill

Ferryhill was recorded in a charter where it was granted to the Community by Earl Northman (Robertson 2009, 141). Little is known about Earl Northman other than that he was recorded as a witness to a charter of King Æthelred in AD 994 and was one of three earls who were recorded in the *HSC* as having leased Gainford and other lands from the Community (Johnson-South 2001, 112). There is one archaeological find from Ferryhill, an Anglo-Scandinavian carved bone mount (Batey, Morris and Vyner 1990). The carved bone mount has been dated to the tenth century, as were the partial remains of the structure with which it was associated (Batey, Morris and Vyner 1990). There seems to be nothing in particular about the bone mount to suggest that it was made by a Scandinavian rather than an Anglo-Saxon who adopted Scandinavian cultural practices and styles.

Though it would seem that the Community once owned Ferryhill and lost at least part of it, there is little that suggests this loss came as the result of Anglo-Scandinavian activity.

5.5.09 Dinsdale

Dinsdale's church was first recorded in AD 1208 as being granted to William Briton in return for regular payment to the monastic community at Durham (Snape 2002, 202), indicating that the church came into the community at Durham's possession in an event which seems to have gone unrecorded. The other mention of Dinsdale comes from a charter from between AD 1174 and AD 1190 in which Ralph de Surtees promised to the Community at Durham that the churches of Rounton and Low Dinsdale would provide lights to be placed around the body of St Cuthbert (Farrer 2013, 287).

Three pieces of sculpture have been discovered at Dinsdale, though two of them may belong to the same piece, a tenth century cross-shaft (Cramp 1977, 63&64). The carving of the animals on the cross-shaft betray a clear Scandinavian influence, with parallels to other carvings in the region, some of which come from sites such as Sockburn, where the carvings are strongly suggestive of an Anglo-Scandinavian presence (Cramp 1977, 63&64). Dinsdale's other carving is part of a cross-shaft dating from the first half of the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 63&64). It is not particularly remarkable though it does share similarities with other Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from the area (Cramp 1977, 63&64).

Despite Dinsdale's early existence as sculpture from the church demonstrates (Cramp 1977, 63-66), there is not enough evidence to draw firm conclusions about an Anglo-Scandinavian presence there.

Figure 48 – *Part of a cross-shaft from the first half of the tenth century from Dinsdale.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 35, no.178) (Reproduced with permission). The depiction of small scale figures seems to indicate Anglo-Scandinavian influence as such figures are found on other Anglo-Scandinavian carvings such as Conisclffe 06, Sockburn 03, 04, 05, 06 and 07 as well as on carvings from Finghall in Yorkshire (Cramp 1977, 63&64).

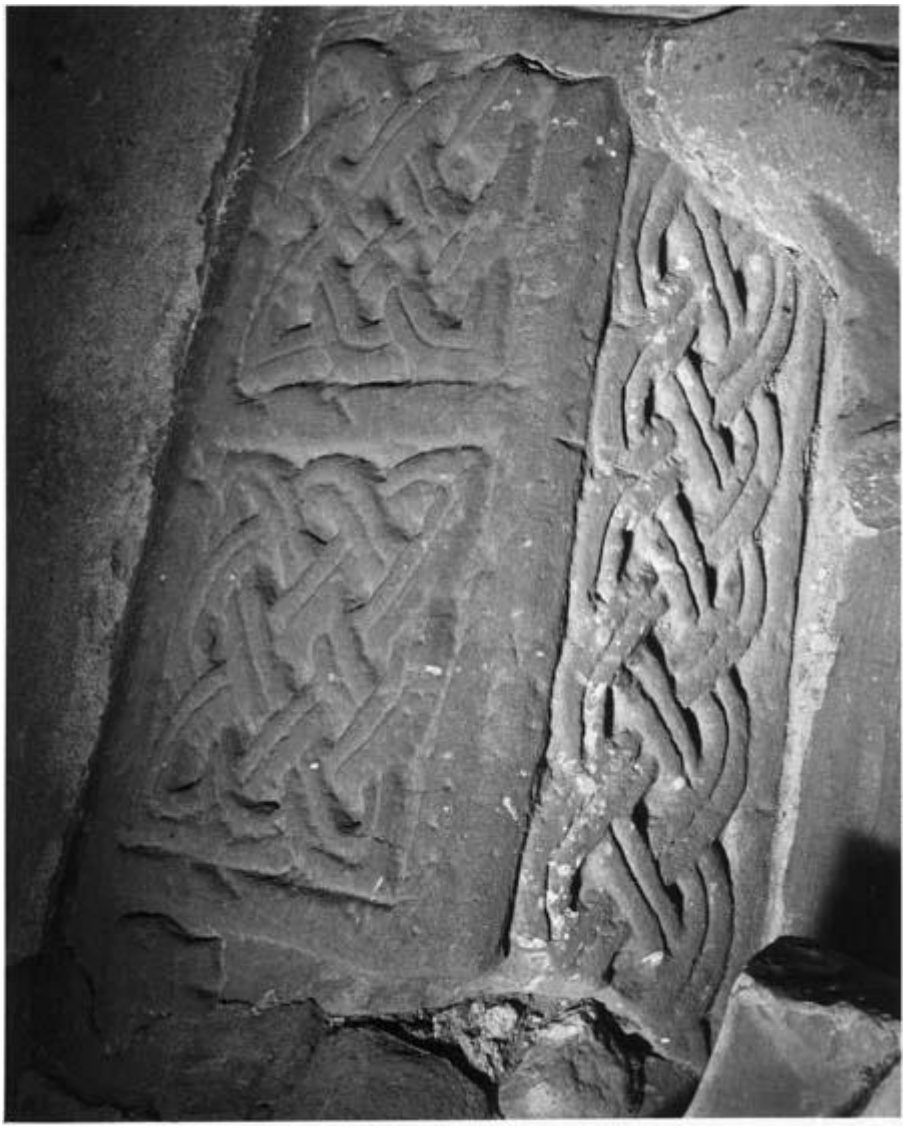

Figure 49 – *Part of a tenth century cross-shaft from Dinsdale.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp1977 Plate 35, no.181) (Reproduced with permission). Scandinavian influence on this piece is suggested by the animal head type, with Chester-le-Street 01 and Gainford 02 being similarly influenced pieces (Cramp 1977, 64).

Figure 50 – *Part of a cross-shaft from the first half of the tenth century from Dinsdale.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 33, no.173) (Reproduced with permission). This piece may have been the upper part of Dinsdale 03 and would have been influenced by similar Scandinavian artistic traditions (Cramp 1977, 64).

5.5.10 Ulnaby

Ulnaby most likely derives from the Old Norse personal name '*Ulfhethin'* and the Old Norse suffix '*býr'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2001, 128). Twelfth century documentation makes no reference to any Anglo-Scandinavian activity (Grindey, Jecock and Oswald 2008, 6). No archaeological evidence dating from before the Norman Conquest has been produced from Ulnaby (Grindey, Jecock and Oswald 2008, 31).

The use of the Old Norse '*býr'* element suggests the presence of Old Norse speakers since such elements were said to be exclusively used by them (Abrams and Parsons 2004).

5.5.11 Egglescliffe

Recordings of Eggescliffe in historical sources are sparse and do not suggest an Anglo-Scandinavian presence. Place-name evidence is also similarly lacking with Egglescliffe deriving from Old English or possibly primitive Welsh (Watts 2001, 38).

Sculptural evidence however, is slightly more promising, consisting of a fragment of a tenth century cross-shaft (Cramp 1977, 75). Various interpretations have been suggested for the motifs on this piece, including some sort of abstract design, a draped figure or the mythological Weland the smith and his flying machine (Cramp 1977, 75). Depending on which interpretation is correct, this piece may have links with Cumbria and Yorkshire (Cramp 1977, 75). The story of Weland however was well known in England before the Scandinavians' arrival

and attempts were being made during this period to link the story to Christian themes (Bailey 1980, 103). Regardless of interpretation, the ornamentation, such as the incised scrolls, is a clear Anglo-Scandinavian cultural marker (Cramp 1977, 75).

Evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence at Egglescliffe is limited to one piece of sculpture. The use of incised scrolls might suggest that this piece is Anglo-Scandinavian and dates from the period of Scandinavian settlement and therefore that Weland was being used to draw parallels between the stories of paganism and the teachings of Christianity to ease the process of conversion. Should this be the case, it would be another example of the use of both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian material culture and ideology to form and shape identities. The use of just incised scrolls however, cannot be used as evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence. Egglescliffe seems to have been little disrupted by any possible Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the area.

Figure 51 – *Part of a tenth century cross-shaft from Egglescliffe – Face A (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 52, no.247) (Reproduced with permission). This piece seems to be clearly Anglo-Scandinavian and the possible depiction of a scene from the story of Weland may have been an attempt to draw similarities between paganism and Christianity and ease the process of conversion (Cramp 1977, 75).

Figure 52 – *Part of a tenth century cross-shaft from Egglescliffe – Face D (Narrow).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 52, no.249) (Reproduced with permission). The use of incised plant scrolls is a reflection of Anglo-Scandinavian fashion and tastes (Cramp 1977, 75).

5.5.12 Raisby

For Raisby, the *'Rais'* element derives from an individual named Race Engaine who donated land to Sherburn hospital in the twelfth century and the '*býr'* element is the Old Norse suffix meaning farmstead or settlement (Pons Sanz 2000, 35). The *'býr'* element has been taken to indicate the presence of Old Norse speakers and its use in the twelfth century (Insley 1986) (Roberts 1989/1990) may suggest Old Norse speakers and the survival of Old Norse naming traditions (Abrams and Parsons 2004).

5.5.13 Bowes Moor, Old Spital

In the furthest western reaches of County Durham at Bowes Moor, Old Spital, close to the border with Cumbria a hoard was discovered in 1982. Among other items, the hoard included nineteen silver bars, a broken bracelet and what has been described as a rough waste object (Durham County Council and Northumberland County Council 2016).The hoard is clearly suggestive of Anglo-Scandinavian presence given the appearance of silver bars and jewellery, items which could be used as hack silver and were a common feature of an alternative Scandinavian economy (Kershaw 2017). Such items were unlikely to be accepted by the tightly regulated Anglo-Saxon coin economy (Kershaw 2017). The hoard dates from the tenth century though the circumstances of deposition remain unknown (Durham County Council and Northumberland County Council 2016).

The deposition of the hoard may have been a reaction to the general turbulence that accompanied the reigns of the Anglo-Scandinavian kings of York

and the later conquest of the area by the various English kings. Events during the tenth century which may have had an influence include Edward the Elder's ravaging of Northumbria which the *ASC* recorded as happening in AD 910 or Guthfrith's unsuccessful siege of York and Æthelstan's subsequent capture of the city and destruction of its defences (Rollason, Fellows-Jensen and Gore 1998, 67).

Given its geographical location it could also be that the hoard may be associated with the death of Eric Bloodaxe at Stainmore in AD 954 (Hudson 2005, 38). Stainmore lies on the border between Cumbria and County Durham and its remote location would have provided the ideal location for an assassination, which is the most likely cause of death for Eric Bloodaxe rather than dying in battle which had previously been suggested (Wood 2005, 191). It would seem from the chroniclers such as Symeon of Durham and Roger of Wendover that Eric was heading north west into exile, perhaps to gain support for his claim to the throne of York, before he was slain by an individual named Maccus, son of Onlaf, probably a Hiberno-Norse individual, on the orders of Earl Osulf of Bamburgh (Wood 2005, 191). Osulf would have benefitted in terms of power from Eric's death and Symeon recorded how following on from the episode at Stainmore, Northumbria was divided between Osulf and Earl Oslac (HR sa.1072).

Alternatively, given its proximity to Cumbria it is possible that the hoard was deposited by an individual coming from the north west. Æthelstan's successor Edmund I was active in the area during this period. Building on Æthelstan's decisive victory at Brunanburh, Edmund further consolidated his power over the north west and the north in general, when he was recorded in AD

945 as overrunning all of Cumberland and granting it to Malcolm, King of the Scots, in return for an alliance between the two kings (ASC sa.945).

Figure 53 –*Drawing of the silver ingots from the Bowes Moor Hoard.* (Edwards 1985 Fig 5). Silver ingots such as these formed a major component of the alternative Scandinavian economy that existed in Anglo-Saxon England (Kershaw 2017).

5.5.14 Sedgefield

Though there is no physical evidence from Sedgefield, documentary references may suggest some Anglo-Scandinavian activity. Sedgefield may have been the centre of a composite estate (Johnson-South 2001, 102), with the clearest indicator of this being the use of the phrase "Sedgefield and whatever pertains to it" suggesting there were other lands associated with Sedgefield (Johnson-South 2001, 102). The fact that Sedgefield would later become the centre of a medieval parish and it was common for composite estate centres to become the heads of medieval parishes (Johnson-South 2001, 102) also indicates this. Similarly, the *Boldon Book's* record of a number of '*vills'* associated with Sedgefield and that some still owed services to Sedgefield, with such services being a key part of the relationship between the central site and dependencies in composite estates (Johnson-South 2001, 102) further indicate this.

The Sedgefield estate was recorded in the *HSC* as being purchased by Bishop Cutheard (HSC 21). The only lands that did not come with Sedgefield were those held by Aculf, Æthelbriht and Frithlaf, but even over these lands the Bishop held sake and soke (HSC 21). Two of these names, Aculf and Frithlaf, seem to be of Old Norse origin. The name Frithlaf appears in the *Gesta Danorum* as the name of the hero in a dragon slayer story (Elton and Powell 1894, xci) whilst Aculf seems to be a derivative of the Old Norse personal name Agúlfr meaning "terror wolf" (Hanks 2003, 8). Given the warrior associations of these names and that they may have been holding land before Bishop Cutheard's reign which seems to have begun in AD 901 (HSC 21), these individuals were possibly members of the Great Army that settled Northumbria in AD 876. Later on the *HSC* recorded that land at Bradbury and Mordon was donated to the Community

by Snaculf son of Cytel, the same individual who also donated Sockburn (Johnson-South 2001, 102). Snaculf and Cytel are names of Old Norse origin (Aird 1998, 49). Since these '*vills'* lay in the area of the later medieval parish, they were probably part of the Sedgefield estate (Johnson-South 2001, 102). Though there seems to have been Anglo-Scandinavian land ownership in the area that compromised the old estate of Sedgefield, there is nothing that clearly indicates Anglo-Scandinavian responsibility for the estate's fragmentation.

The individuals recorded as holding land are subject to the Bishop and without further details about the extent of their landholdings it does not seem possible to understand any potential impact they had. Snaculf's grant may be more suggestive about the possibility of an Anglo-Scandinavian fragmentation of the estate but without knowledge of what happened to the other '*vills',* it is difficult to say that it was the sole work of the Anglo-Scandinavians.

Furthermore, the two main events which would have been most likely to result in the fragmentation of estates, the settlement of AD 876 and Ragnall's redistribution of land around AD 913 or AD 914 (Hadley 2000a, 12) occurred much earlier than Snaculf's grant, which has been dated to between AD 1002 and AD 1016 (Farrer 2013, 260).

Sedgefield also lay outside the lands granted by Ragnall to Scula and Onlafbal and whether the settlement of AD 876 impacted Sedgefield is unknown, meaning that suggestions linking Anglo-Scandinavians to the fragmentation of the estate will probably be speculative. Snaculf's ancestors may have been involved in the fragmentation of the estate though this is unclear. There is little reference to an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the area from the *Boldon Book*, with the only possible record being that of land at Bishop Middleton held by an individual

named Arkill (BB 1982, 25), Arkill being a Middle English version of the Old Norse name Arnketil or Arkil (Hanks, Coates, McClure et al 2016, 73).

5.6 Regional Conclusion

Anglo-Scandinavian activity seems to have been significant in the Gainfordshire area. Historical sources record a number of grants of lands in these areas to the Community of St Cuthbert by individuals with Scandinavian names. Often these sites had an earlier ecclesiastical history and were originally owned by the Community. Individuals with Scandinavian names were also recorded at sites in this area in the *Boldon Book.*

Gainford, Sockburn and Darlington, were key strategic locations, and were major crossings of the River Tees. The Roman road Dere Street also ran through part of this area.

Sculptural evidence, especially carvings from Sockburn and Gainford have clear links to and influence from Scandinavian culture and religion and may, in certain instances, suggest a mercantile presence (Stocker 2000).

Anglo-Scandinavian carvings have also been found at other sites in the area, many of which also had an earlier ecclesiastical history. Small finds are limited in this area, but those such as the lead weight from Archdeacon Newton, Darlington, may indicate Anglo-Scandinavian activity.

Place-names seem to confirm the conclusions drawn from the small finds and sculptural evidence mentioned above. There are a number of '*býr*' place-names in and around the Gainfordshire area, some of which contain Old

Norse personal names, which may indicate Anglo-Scandinavian activity if not settlement, given that '*býr*' place-names seem to be solely associated with speakers of Old Norse (Abrams and Parson 2004). It may be a possibility that estates in this area were fragmented as a result of Anglo-Scandinavian activity. Staindropshire was separated from Gainfordshire prior to the reign of Cnut (AD 1016-1035) and Darlington may have been the centre of an earlier estate which was broken up. Darlington's owner, prior to its donation to the Community of St Cuthbert, seems to have been a wealthy Scandinavian merchant from York (Johnson-South 2001, 111), which may suggest an Anglo-Scandinavian role in the fragmentation of the estate. Furthermore, Sockburn may have been part of a larger estate which extended into modern day North Yorkshire and which seems to have been fragmented (Johnson-South 2001, 115), possibly because of Anglo-Scandinavian activity.

Sites in Hartness, such as Billingham, were recorded in historical sources and have produced Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, as have other sites in the area, which were not recorded in historical sources. Small finds in the area may also suggest some form of Anglo-Scandinavian presence. Whilst there are possible Scandinavian place-names in the area, they differ greatly from those in the Gainfordshire area. Apart from Sadberge, all other possible Scandinavian place-names are Grimston hybrids, and which while being possible evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity, do not provide the same possibilities and evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity that '*býr*' place-names do. Though there are references to early raids and Anglo-Scandinavian rule over parts of the Hartness area, it does not seem that there was any Anglo-Scandinavian responsibility for

estate fragmentation, with the lack of *'býʼ* place-names possibly further suggesting a lack of Anglo-Scandinavian settlement in the area.

There may be two main reasons why the Hartness area seems to have been less densely settled than the Gainfordshire area. The reasons seem to be economic and geographical. In terms of economics, the Hartness area may not have been as appealing as the Gainfordshire area. The decline of the monastery at Hartlepool, coupled with Ælla's activity in the area and his seizure of Billingham as well as Symeon's statement about Scula's heavy taxation of the area may suggest that the area lost many valuable resources without any reinvestment. Furthermore, estates in Hartness such as Billinghamshire and Nortonshire seem to have been smaller than other estates, already perhaps putting the area at an economic disadvantage.

In terms of geography, there are no rivers that run through Hartness. Evidence from Sockburn and Gainford suggests an Anglo-Scandinavian preference for riverine sites, since both were key crossing points of the Tees. Hartness is devoid of Roman roads and this lack of transport links would have made communication and trade time-consuming and expensive meaning the Hartness area was bypassed by any trade that may have linked it to the Kingdom of York to the south and the elite item trade network to the north.

Though possibly not as influential as the economic and geographical reasons, the lack of presence of the Community of St Cuthbert in this area, may have also impacted Anglo-Scandinavian activity. There were many benefits for Anglo-Scandinavians to gain by associating themselves with churches and powerful ecclesiastical organisations. Apart from Billingham, there seem to have been no other Community sites in the Hartness area. The lack of any such

prestigious sites coupled with the economic and geographical factors may have meant that Scandinavian settlement focused on the Gainfordshire area.

Throughout the area though, there does seem to be an engagement with the host culture and the development of an Anglo-Scandinavian identity. Perhaps two of the most interesting sites in the region, Gainford and Sockburn, both belonged to the Community of St Cuthbert and both have produced pieces of sculpture which show Scandinavian and Christian themes and influence. The later grants of sites to the Community by individuals with Scandinavian names, recorded in historical sources, shows a recognition of the importance of the Community and a desire to be associated with them and to be seen as their benefactors.

6. Data Analysis and Synthesis – Northern County Durham and southern Northumberland

6.1 The Grant of Guthred

The account of the grant of land gifted by Guthred differs among historical sources. Both the *HSC* and the *History of the Church of Durham* record that Guthred granted the lands between the Tyne and the Wear to the Community; whilst the *History of the Kings* stated that the grant covered the land between the Tyne and the Tees and was given by both Guthred and King Alfred (Holford and Stringer 2010, 45). It may be that the Community gained significant areas of land but that this was the result of a gradual process of acquisition rather than an outright grant (Craster 1954).

6.1.01 Chester-le-Street

Chester-le-Street was the Community of St Cuthbert's major permanent site from AD 883 to AD 995 following their departure from Lindisfarne (Cambridge 2002). The land came into the Community's possession following a grant from the amicable King Guthred and possibly King Alfred (Holford and Stringer 2010, 45) suggesting that prior to this, the land may have been an Anglo-Scandinavian possession. The Community seemed largely unaffected by Anglo-Scandinavians, until following Ragnall's victory at Corbridge when the lands including Chester-le-Street fell under the rule of Onlafbal, one of Ragnall's captains (Johnson-South 2001, 104). These lands were recovered, being mentioned in the *HSC* and the later *Boldon Book* (Johnson-South 2001, 106).

The *HSC* recorded that Chester-le-Street and Gainford were leased to an individual named Eadred (Johnson-South 2001, 106). The Chester-le-Street lease would have meant that the Community were leasing out their home site and heartlands, which would seem to be a strange move and would only make sense if the Community were under duress (Johnson-South 2001, 106).

Despite these events, Chester-le-Street, unlike other monastic settlements such as Hexham or Corbridge, seems to have flourished producing eighteen pieces of sculpture, the majority of which are from the tenth century. Of the eighteen pieces (Cramp 1977, 53-59, 155&166), five of them could be described as Anglo-Scandinavian (Cramp 1977, 53,54,56-58). The use of sculpture implies an Anglo-Scandinavian identity, since sculptural carvings were largely unknown in Scandinavia but were common in England and these carvings combine an Anglian tradition with Scandinavian iconography.

Some carvings seem to have clear links with known periods of Anglo-Scandinavian activity, whilst the connection between others is more speculative. A cross-shaft from the late ninth century displays clear Anglo-Scandinavian motifs such as horse and rider (Cramp 1977, 53&54) and the dating of this piece would strongly suggest links to Guthred's reign, which was roughly from AD 881 to AD 895 (Johnson-South 2001, 87). The horse and rider motif was part of a wider movement in which secular scenes, such as this one, began to feature on sculpture, where previously religious scenes dominated (Blair 2005, 321). This move away from the traditional scenes of earlier times reflected the laity's new desire to use sculpture and secular scenes, such as the one mentioned, to portray their ideals and achievements (Blair 2005, 321).

This piece could have been commissioned by an Anglo-Scandinavian high status individual, given that it depicts both a common secular and Anglo-Scandinavian scene. The late ninth century date would coincide with the beginnings of Anglo-Scandinavian power in the region, perhaps suggesting a new elite, looking to establish and legitimise themselves. A cross-arm possibly displaying a ring-headed pattern could be linked to the cross-shaft mentioned above (Cramp 1977, 57&58) and would suggest links to the reign of Guthred. The other Anglo-Scandinavian carvings date from the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 56-58) making it harder to link these pieces to any documented Anglo-Scandinavian presence.

A tenth century cross-base may depict Fenrir (Cramp 1977, 58), a figure from Scandinavian mythology, suggesting that the sculptor or patron of this carving had knowledge of this belief system. Furthermore, Fenrir possibly appears as the devil, on a scene which may depict the Crucifixion (Cramp 1977, 58), suggesting parallels were being made between Christianity and paganism, to smooth the process of conversion. The highlighting of such parallels has been described as the first steps in a longer process of conversion whereby the path from pagan to Christian was seen as a long term development, where old pagan practices would not disappear instantly but would gradually be replaced by Christian practice (Abrams 2000).

Alternatively, already converted Anglo-Scandinavians may have produced the piece to show the cultural and religious unity and heritage of the Community and the Anglo-Scandinavians. The pieces are Anglo-Scandinavian reflecting both Scandinavian influences and those of the Community and their culture. Given that the Community produced these carvings at their main residence, this might

suggest that relations were not always hostile as there would be no reason for them to produce such pieces if relations were not amicable. Furthermore, it would seem logical for them to leave the site if relations were hostile and the site was easily breached as the story of Onlafbal may suggest (HSC 23).

That these pieces of sculpture occur at Chester-le-Street may be an indicator of the Anglo-Scandinavians and the Community working together, and Chester-le-Street's status as the main monastic centre in the region since the decline of the other sites which had largely stopped producing carvings. By associating themselves with the influential Community of St Cuthbert and their sites, as it seems the Anglo-Scandinavians did, they brought legitimacy to their cause in unstable times and gained the favour of the Community. Other benefits included churches offering resources and stability and opportunities to do penance for any earlier misdeeds the Anglo-Scandinavians had carried out (Hadley 2000c).

The Anglo-Scandinavians were not the only ones to attempt to win the favour of the Community. The kings of Wessex may have seen the Community as a way to limit Anglo-Scandinavian influence in the area, with the Community often happy to comply. Æthelstan made generous donations to the Community, as did his brother Edmund, suggesting attempts to gain the favour of the Community (Rollason 2002). Later, Cnut pursued a similar policy but for different reasons (Rollason 2002). The Community seem to have been open to currying the favour of the Anglo-Scandinavians and the Kings of Wessex, benefitting from both.

Given the Community's position exposed to the threat of possible Anglo-Scandinavian or Scottish enemies, it was in their interest to seek as much protection as possible. Despite the good relations between Guthred and the

Community, it would seem unwise for the Community to rely solely on the protection of the Anglo-Scandinavians as later attacks by hostile kings showed. Overall, at Chester-le-Street, excluding the Ragnall episode, little seems to have changed, with the Community retaining their lands. There was Scandinavian cultural influence perhaps brought about by a new elite but this influence was not dominant.

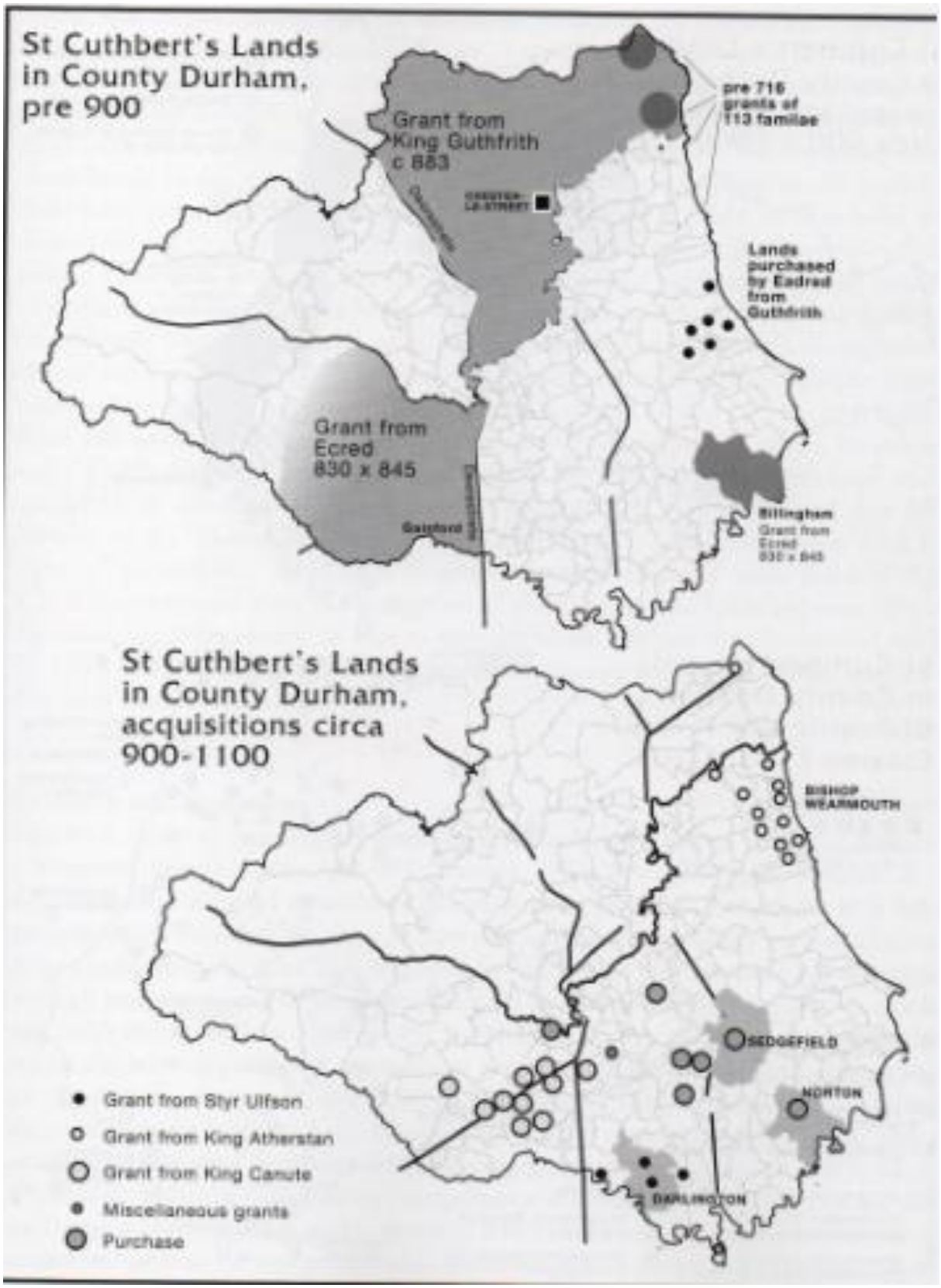

Figure 54– *The lands of the Community of St Cuthbert in County Durham between the ninth and eleventh centuries.* (Roberts 2008, Fig 6.2) (Reproduced with permission).

Figure 55 – *Late ninth century cross-shaft from Chester-le-Street.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 20, no.102) (Reproduced with permission).The horse and rider scene is an Anglo-Scandinavian motif and can be found on other carvings from the region (Cramp 1977, 53&54). The knot pattern below the horse and rider motif also seems to be a feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art (Cramp 1977, 53&54).

Figure 56 – *Late tenth century incomplete cross-shaft from Chester-le-Street.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 24, no.122) (Reproduced with permission). Features such as the use of rounded loops may suggest Anglo-Scandinavian influence (Cramp 1977, 56&57).

Figure 57 – *Part of a tenth century cross-shaft from Chester-le-Street.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 24, no.126) (Reproduced with permission). The use of the ribbon animal motif may suggest Anglo-Scandinavian influence (Cramp 1977, 57).

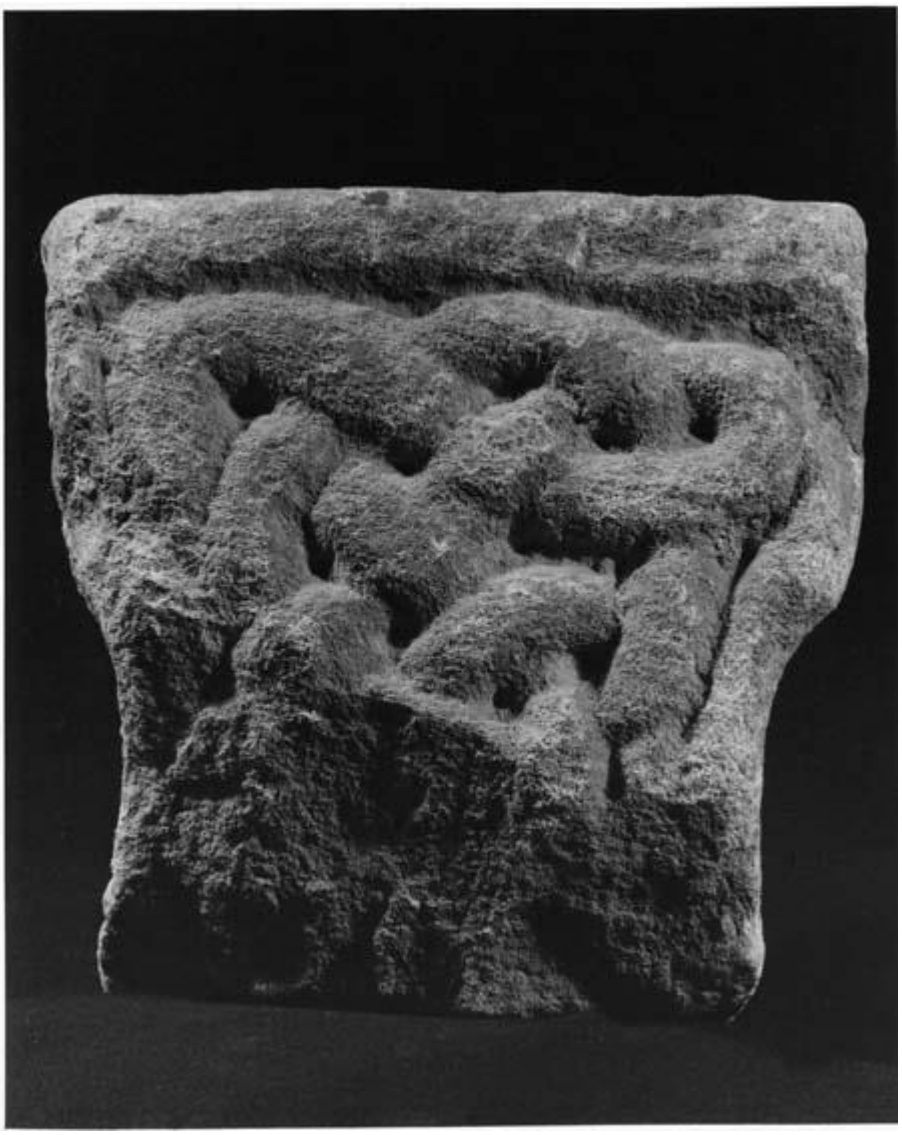

Figure 58 – *Late ninth to tenth century cross-arm from Chester-le-Street.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 25, no.134) (Reproduced with permission). This piece may have been influenced by similar Anglo-Scandinavian artistic traditions as those which influenced Chester-le-Street 01 (Cramp 1977, 57&58).

Figure 59 – *Tenth century cross-base from Chester-le-Street.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 26, no.141) (Reproduced with permission). The free ring pattern and interlace placed within loose terminals is best seen as resulting from Anglo-Scandinavian artistic influence (Cramp 1977, 58).

6.1.02 Durham

The Community of St Cuthbert moved to Durham in AD 995 (Rollason 2003, 149). A pre-Norman structure known as the 'white church' was built to house the relics of St Cuthbert (Crook 2003, 167), though there may have been an earlier structure. This building effort seemed to involve Earl Uhtred and the local populace (Raine 1828, 57). Though it would seem that Durham was briefly under Anglo-Scandinavian rule, falling within the area of land granted by Guthred to the Community, there is nothing to suggest a significant Anglo-Scandinavian presence in and around the city (Carver et al 1979).

Five pieces of sculpture from the late tenth to mid-eleventh century comprise the evidence for a possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence (Cramp 1977, 66-68). None of the sculpture stands out as particularly noteworthy from among the sculpture of this region. The lack of sculpture and its late date may reflect the Community's late move to Durham. When the Community arrived in AD 995, the Anglo-Scandinavian Kingdom of York had been gone for forty years and Scandinavian influence was largely in decline. Some of the pieces seem to be misunderstood renderings of Anglo-Scandinavian patterns, suggesting that whoever was carving these pieces was unfamiliar with the patterns (Cramp 1977, 67).

Alternatively, such pieces may have been part of a revivalist movement resulting from the Scandinavian conquests of Swein Forkbeard and more importantly Cnut in the eleventh century. Cnut made a pilgrimage to Durham where he bestowed gifts upon the Community (Johnson-South 2001, 114). His reign was known to have resulted in a flourishing of Anglo-Scandinavian art

forms (Jesch 2004). Other sites such as Gainford produced Anglo-Scandinavian inspired pieces of sculpture that also date from this period, so it is plausible.

The sculpture is not particularly suggestive of any Anglo-Scandinavian activity, though it is possible there was activity, given the importance of Durham and benefits for Anglo-Scandinavians by associating themselves with such sites (McClain 2011). The sculpture however is more likely to stem from the cultural influence that came with Cnut's reign, with no major Anglo-Scandinavian impact on Durham.

Figure 60 – *Late tenth to early eleventh century almost complete cross-shaft, in two joining pieces, from Durham.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 37, no. 189) (Reproduced with permission). Anglo-Scandinavian influence is indicated by the twisted jaws of the creature, a feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art seen on carvings from elsewhere in the region (Cramp 1977, 66&67).

Figure 61 – *Early eleventh century shaft and part of head of cross from Durham.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 40, no.195) (Reproduced with permission). The branching pattern on this piece seems to be an attempt at recreating the Anglo-Scandinavian ring chain pattern (Cramp 1977, 67).

Figure 62 – *Early eleventh century shaft and part of head of cross from Durham.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 41, no.197) (Reproduced with permission). The decoration as well as the form and dimensions of this carving are almost identical to those of Durham 02 (Cramp 1977, 67&68).

Figure 63 – *Part of cross-head from the first half of the eleventh century from Durham.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 43, no.201) (Reproduced with permission). This piece may be part of Durham 02 and therefore would have been influenced by similar artistic traditions (Cramp 1977, 68).

Figure 64 – *Part of a coped grave cover in three joining pieces, dating from the late tenth to very late eleventh century, from Durham.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 50, no.236) (Reproduced with permission). The animal head terminals and the loose loop terminals in irregular panels of interlace indicate Anglo-Scandinavian artistic influence (Cramp 1977, 73).

6.2 Bedlingtonshire and Bothal

6.2.01 Bedlingtonshire

Bedlington and the dependencies of Nedderton, Choppington, West Sleekburn, Cambois and Twizell were recorded in the *HSC* as being purchased by Bishop Cutheard (HSC 21). Unlike other estates which were made up of twelve '*vills'*, Bedlingtonshire had five *'vills'* (Johnson-South 2001, 103). Plotting out the '*vills'* mentioned in the *HSC* shows that, with the exception of Twizell, which lies five miles inland, all the other '*vills'* are adjacent to each other (Johnson-South 2001, 103). Twizell's distance from the other '*vills'* and the fact that the boundary outlines of the '*vills'* correspond with Bedlington's early parish boundaries, an area of roughly 3500 hectares, suggests that Bedlingtonshire may have been a twelve '*vill'* composite estate which had shrunk by the time the Community purchased it (Johnson-South 2001, 103). Little further mention of Bedlington was made until the Community stayed there briefly in AD 1069 when fleeing from the soldiers of William the Conqueror (Aird 1994).

The *Boldon Book* recorded all Bedlington's associated '*vills'* except Twizell, which had disappeared from the estate and was not recorded (Johnson-South 2001, 104). Documentary sources do not suggest an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in or impact on Bedlingtonshire.

Sculptural evidence from the area is equally as unpromising for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence. Only one piece of sculpture has been found in Bedlington, a tenth century slab, which can be linked to the Anglo-Scandinavian

carvings of the Tees Valley (Cramp 1977, 163&164) but there is nothing about it to suggest an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the area.

Though not evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence, a burial from Cambois was long considered to be Anglo-Scandinavian and it is worth reviewing it here as new interpretations about burials add to the argument that there was little if any Anglo-Scandinavian presence in Bedlington. Buried within a cist burial were the remains of a woman aged between forty-five and sixty and two men, one in his twenties and the other in his forties (Alexander 1987). Along with the remains were a bone comb and an enamelled disc brooch (Alexander 1987). The burial is estimated to date to no later than the middle of the tenth century (Alexander 1987). The grave goods and the fact that it was a mound burial have led some to suggest that the individuals within the burial could have been Anglo-Scandinavian landholding elites who were stating their property rights in a time of social instability (Alexander 1987).

New ideas about the role of grave goods as markers of identity, discussed earlier, is not the only factor which casts doubt on the burial representing Anglo-Scandinavian landholders. The burial occurs in an area devoid of any partial, let alone conclusive evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the tenth century. During this period Cambois was recorded as belonging to the Community of St Cuthbert, as part of the Bedlington estate (Johnson-South 2001, 103) purchased by Bishop Cutheard in the early tenth century (Johnson-South 2001, 101). Since this land was under the ownership of the Community it would be difficult to suggest that the individuals buried represented new incoming landholders. This is especially the case since the *HSC* recorded the lands of the Community, including those that had been stolen, recovered or rented out to

individuals. For example, it recorded that the Community recovered the lands seized by Onlafbal or that they gave land to Eadred son of Ricsige after he sought sanctuary with them (Johnson-South 2001, 105&106). There is no such mention of any transactions involving Cambois after its purchase by the Community, even though the document covers the period during which the burial occurred.

Similarly, Cambois was later recorded in the *Boldon Book*, suggesting no land ownership changes (BB 1982, 31). Whilst future evidence may shed further light on the identities of the individuals buried, nothing suggests that they were Anglo-Scandinavian. Bedlingtonshire, then, seems to suggest at best a very limited Anglo-Scandinavian presence.

All the '*vills'*, with the strange exception of Twizell, which disappears, remain in the possession of the Community. The estate, which existed prior to the arrival of the Scandinavians, is still intact long after their arrival, as the *Boldon Book* indicates (BB 1982, 29). Sculptural evidence hints at connections with other regions with a known Anglo-Scandinavian presence. The burial does not suggest an Anglo-Scandinavian presence but does suggest elite individuals, given the prestige which the Carolingian brooch had and the resources and trade links needed to acquire it (Ten Harkel, Weetch and Sainsbury 2016). The origins and trade links with the comb are harder to discern given its rarity (Cramp 2006, 270). Bedlingtonshire's continued existence as an estate in the hands of the Community of St Cuthbert into the twelfth century may reflect the security of their lands in the area and possibly of their cooperation with the Anglo-Scandinavians.

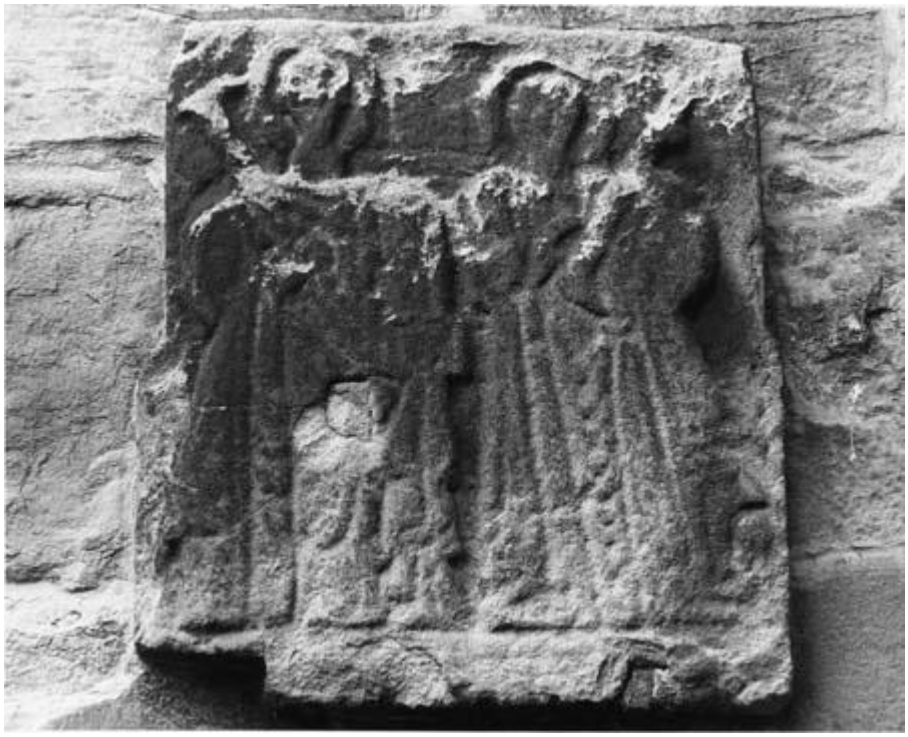

Figure 65 – *Tenth century slab from Bedlington.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 159, no.820) (Reproduced with permission). Features of this carving such as the face shape of the individuals depicted or the way their shoulders are joined suggest similarities between this carving and the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings of the Tees Valley (Cramp 1977, 163&164).

Figure 66 –*Disc brooch from the burial from Cambois in Bedlington.* (The British Museum n.d.). There is nothing about the artefacts from the burial or from the burial itself to suggest that those buried were Scandinavian or had any links with Scandinavia. The grave goods may suggest a high status individual or individuals though.

Figure 67 –*Bone comb from the burial from Cambois in Bedlington.* (Alexander 1984 Fig 5). There is nothing about the artefacts from the burial or from the burial itself to suggest that those buried were Scandinavian or had any links with Scandinavia. The grave goods may suggest a high status individual or individuals though.

6.2.02 Bothal

Connections can be drawn between the two incomplete round-headed grave markers from Bothal and possibly a grave marker from Warkworth or even the head and foot stones found in the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery under York Minster (Cramp 1977, 167). If it could be established that this piece was connected with those from York, the theory derived from the study of similar funerary monuments in Lincolnshire, that such monuments represent the founder of the church may be applied here (Stocker 2000). Bothal's sculpture, if this were true, would be part of a larger shift, where the older monastic centres were in decline and secular churches were increasing in prominence (McClain 2011). There certainly was a pre-Conquest church in Bothal (Ryder 2006, 9) but whether this was of Anglo-Scandinavian foundation is unknown at the present time. This grave marker and another similar one from Bothal would be the earliest pieces of sculpture presently found at the site so the theory may be correct; however the lack of contextual information is a hindrance. The possible links with the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery at York are hard to ignore but the impact of this piece cannot be fully appreciated at the present time.

Figure 68 – *Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century incomplete round headed grave marker from Bothal.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer G. Finch) (Cramp 1977 Plate 160, no.839) (Reproduced with permission). This piece bears similarities to other Anglo-Scandinavian grave markers from Warkworth or York (Cramp 1977, 167).

Figure 69 – *Incomplete round headed grave marker from the first half of the tenth century from Bothal.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer G. Finch) (Cramp 1977 Plate 161, no.841) (Reproduced with permission). This piece bears similarities to other Anglo-Scandinavian grave markers from Warkworth or York (Cramp 1977, 167).

6.3 Monkwearmouth and Jarrow

The twin monasteries of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow had a long history going back to the days of Benedict Biscop in the seventh century (Dunn 2003, 193). There was early Scandinavian activity in the area, with Symeon recording that Jarrow was plundered in AD 794 (Libellus Book II Chapter 5). Some have suggested that Scandinavian activity was responsible for the demise of the monasteries. Based on passages in the *History of the Kings* and the *History of the Church of Durham* it has been argued that Jarrow's demise was the result of William the Conqueror's brutal campaign of pacification in AD 1069 and AD 1070 (Rollason 2000, 203). The burning of St Paul's church during Æthelwine's exile and the theft of Bede's relics from Jarrow in the eleventh century (Rollason 2010b) have been used as evidence for this conclusion.

Another option, which seems more plausible, is that the monasteries had been abandoned by the latter part of the ninth century due to Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the area (Johnson-South 2001, 89). The settlements of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow were not completely deserted but rather the monasteries were. The parish churches may well have continued to function. Guthred's grant of land as recorded in the *HSC* encompassed the lands owned by Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (Johnson-South 2001, 89) and it would seem unlikely that a king such as Guthred, who may have been Christian and was certainly praised for his attitude and behaviour towards Christians, would deliberately deprive monasteries of their land. It could be countered that Guthred specifically favoured the Community of St Cuthbert and the confiscation was for their benefit. This assertion whilst reasonable is probably incorrect.

Firstly, taking ownership of lands in this area would not have seemed to be in line with the Community's policy of increasing their holdings further south, as shown by the purchase of lands in and around Gainford and Billingham by Bishop Ecgred (Rollason 2003, 245). Furthermore, Guthred's grant occurred roughly only one to two decades after Jarrow was sacked in AD 870. This may suggest a link between the sacking and the granting of the monasteries' lands. Coastal monasteries such as Monkwearmouth and Jarrow were particularly vulnerable and the monastery at Hartlepool seems to have been abandoned rather quickly after the initial Scandinavian raids of the 790s, with no attempts to defend or fortify the site (Christie and Hodges 2016). Hartlepool's lands were divided up and redistributed shortly after its demise (Daniels 2007) and Monkwearmouth and Jarrow may have suffered a similar fate. Both Monkwearmouth and Jarrow also show evidence of extensive and severe burning (Cramp 1969).

The production of sculpture at both these sites decreases dramatically after the peak production of the seventh and eighth centuries (Cramp 1977, 106-134,153-156), with very few pieces of sculpture produced in the ninth century or later. This decrease cannot be explained by a secular takeover of the craft of sculpture as there still should have been sculpture being produced at these sites if that was the case. Other monastic sites such as Lindisfarne did not suffer from this decrease in production post eighth century.

It may be argued that the demise of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow may be down to political reasons rather than Anglo-Scandinavian activity. The sources do not seem to suggest this and the grant of the two monasteries' lands so soon after a raid is unlikely to have been coincidence. No other raids are mentioned specifically in relation to either of these sites and later Scottish raids would not be

able to explain the dramatic decrease in sculpture production or why Guthred was able to give this land away. Finally, Symeon's statement that Jarrow had been long abandoned would not have made sense if the actions of William the Conqueror were responsible and this again points toward the raid of AD 870 being a decisive factor in the abandonment of the monasteries (Knowles 1963, 168). The Anglo-Scandinavian activity in Northumbria during the mid 870s may have ended any possible recovery at the two monastic sites (Cramp 1969).

Figure 70 – *Fragment from the last quarter of the ninth century to the first quarter of the tenth century from Monkwearmouth.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 124, no.680) (Reproduced with permission). Anglo-Scandinavian influenced is suggested by the straight line meander or use of the incision technique (Cramp 1977, 132).

Figure 71 - *Incomplete cross-shaft in two joining pieces from the first half of the tenth century from Jarrow.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 91, no.482) (Reproduced with permission). This piece seems to be linked to the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings of the Tees Valley as well as other possible Anglo-Scandinavian carvings such as Chester-le-Street 01.(Cramp 1977, 107&108).

6.4 Tynemouth

Prior to the arrival of the Scandinavians, Tynemouth Priory was the resting place of a number of Northumbrian kings (Gibson 1846, 15). It has been suggested that the Scandinavians who were shipwrecked following their raid on Jarrow in AD 794 were brought ashore at Tynemouth (Historic England, n.d.) but there is no evidence for this. Tynemouth, however, would not escape the Scandinavian violence, being sacked in AD 800 (Gibson 1846, 15). Only a few decades later in AD 832, the Scandinavians returned intending to plunder the site (Gibson 1846, 15). This time their attack was beaten back, forcing them to return to their ships. The invaders returned in AD 865 destroying both church and monastery before proceeding to slaughter a group of nuns seeking refuge at Tynemouth (Gibson 1846, 15).

Tynemouth was sacked again in AD 870 (Gibson 1846, 15) and Halfdan may have completely destroyed the site in AD 876 (Gibson 1846, 16). The Scandinavians would return twice more sacking the site during the reign of Æthelstan, before returning to deal another fatal blow in AD 1008, leaving the monastery deserted for many years (Gibson 1846, 16). Prior to this fatal attack, the monastery seemed to continue somewhat, albeit probably on a much smaller scale, as ninth and tenth century sculpture from the site suggests.

Later, both the Community of St Cuthbert and St Albans Abbey claimed ownership over Tynemouth. In order to strengthen their argument, the Community claimed, as seen in the writings of Symeon, that Tynemouth was granted to them by Earl Waltheof of Northumbria sometime in the 1070s (Mason 2012). However, this claim was most likely a fabrication to support the Community's claim in the dispute which arose around a century later (Mason

2012) and counteract St Albans' claim that they were granted Tynemouth in the 1090s by Earl Robert de Mowbray (Harrison and Norton 2012). The only possible reference to a temporary let alone permanent Anglo-Scandinavian presence, was of Halfdan's use of the area as a base for his raids, though there is no archaeological evidence for this. The only evidence, a tenth century architectural fragment, seems to display Jellinge style beasts, with Jellinge being a stylistic tradition that originated in Denmark (Cramp 1977, 227&228). Apart from the raids there is little other evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity at Tynemouth.

Figure 72 – *Part of a tenth century cross-shaft or architectural feature from Tynemouth.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer G. Finch) (Cramp 1977 Plate 226, no.1266) (Reproduced with permission). This piece is possibly influenced by the Jellinge beasts of Scandinavian art as shown by the creature's twisted lip and s-shaped body (Cramp 1977, 227&228).

6.5 Ovingham

Activity at Ovingham seems to have occurred relatively late. The Anglo-Saxon church was only built in the eleventh century and there is very little sculptural evidence from the site. Apart from the one piece which may depict scenes from Scandinavian culture, there are only two pieces of Anglo-Saxon sculpture from the tenth and eleventh century (Cramp 1977, 216&246).

The scene depicted on the possible Ovingham Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture is too worn to be identified clearly. The main interpretations of this piece of sculpture are of Christian imagery including biblical scenes such as Samson or David with a lion or Scandinavian mythology, namely a scene from Ragnarök including Loki, Heimdall and Fenrir (Cramp 1977, 215&216). If the carving does depict the scene from Ragnarök, it would certainly be suggestive of Scandinavian influence and it may be one of the pieces that was created as a result of the mixing of pagan and Christian ideas and iconography (Stocker 2000) given its location in a church and its possible depiction of pagan imagery. Such pieces were often created when there was contact between the incoming Scandinavians and the existing church authorities (Stocker 2000). The present state of the sculpture does not allow a firm conclusion to be drawn and it is likely that the scene on the sculpture will remain unknown in the future.

Again, it may be tempting to extend the theory that such pieces of sculpture were placed there by the founders of the church. However, whilst this piece may be the earliest from the site, it is also possible that there may be an earlier Anglo-Saxon carving. The general lack of sculpture from this area prevents Stocker's theory from being applied fully, as with the exception of Chester-le-Street and Durham no other sites produce more than one piece of

Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture. It does however, remain a plausible theory, especially given the possible Scandinavian nature of the scenes depicted.

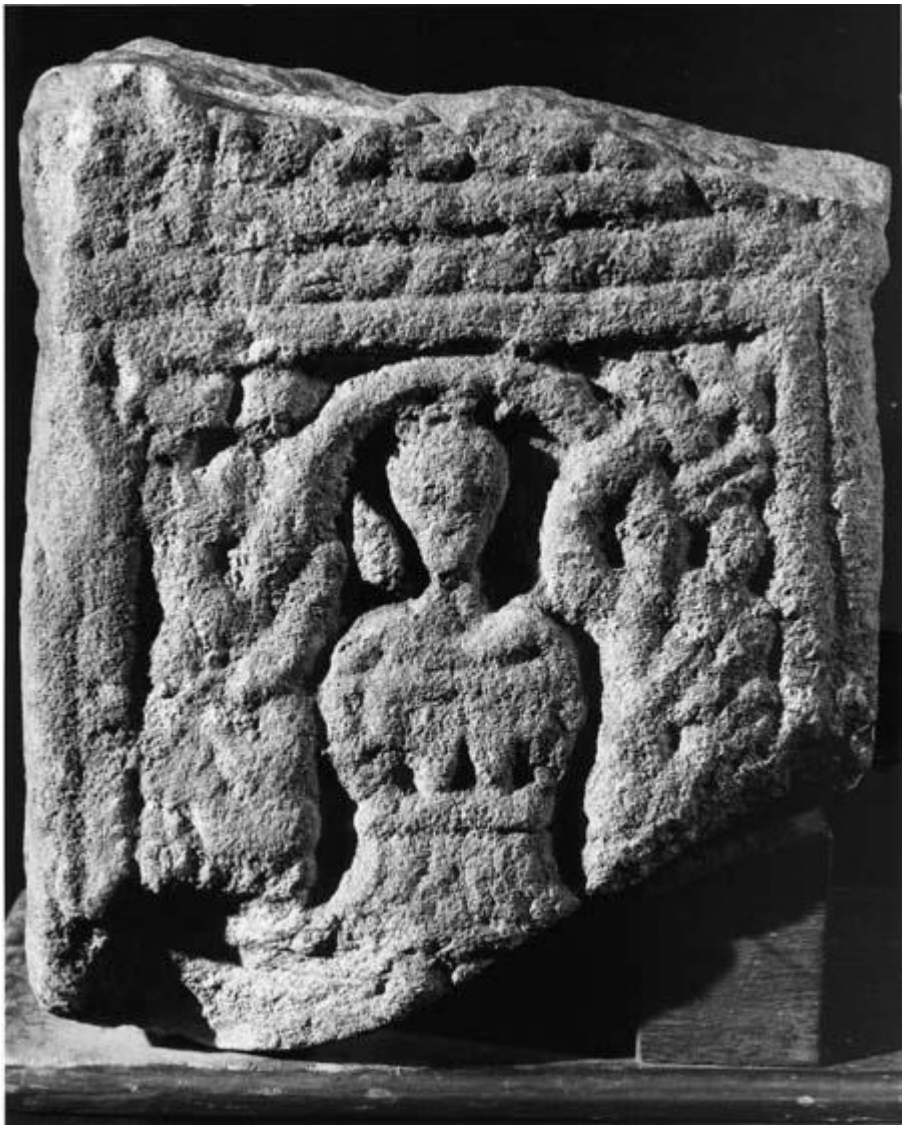

Figure 73 – *Late tenth to early eleventh century upper part of a cross-shaft from Ovingham – Face A (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 210, no.1197) (Reproduced with permission). This piece shows links with the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from the area between Durham and the River Tees. It has also been suggested that this piece depicts Biblical imagery or scenes from Scandinavian mythology though the carving is too crude to be certain.

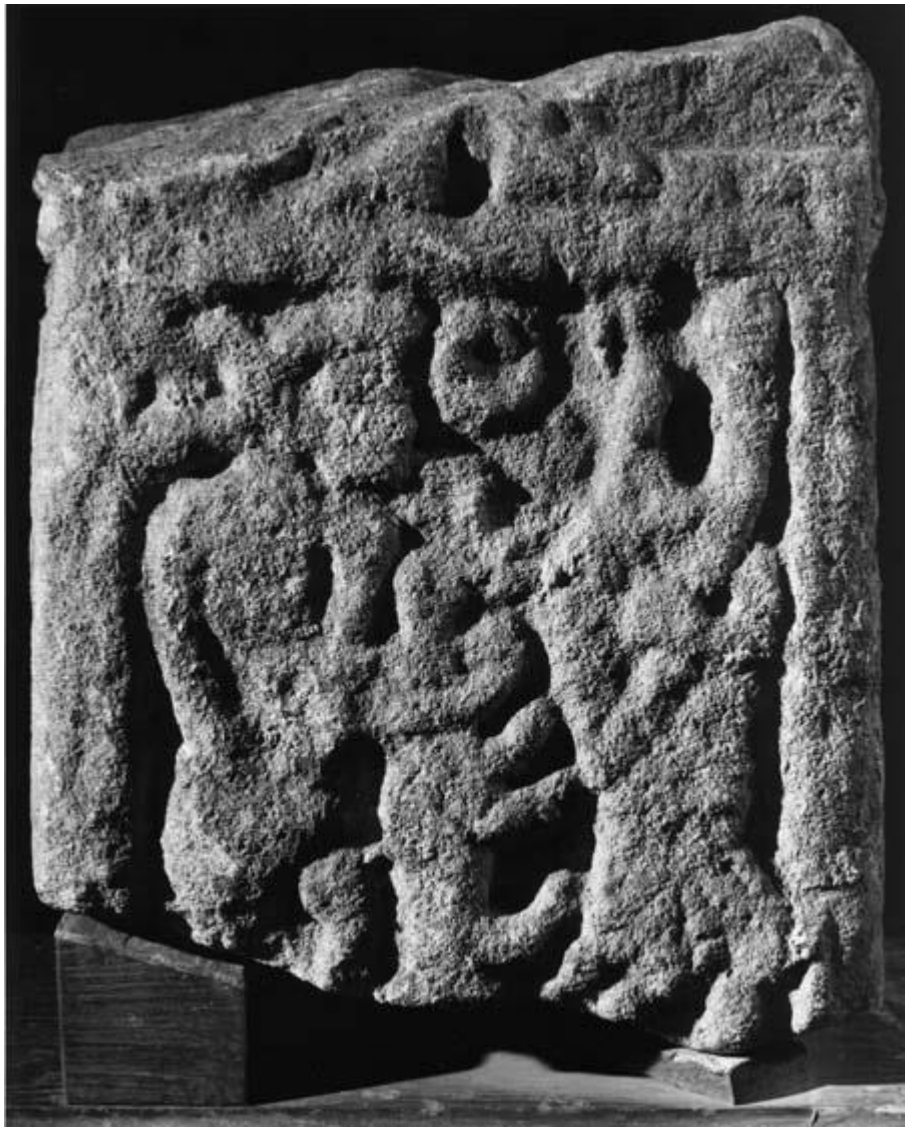

Figure 74 – *Late tenth to early eleventh century upper part of a cross-shaft from Ovingham – Face C (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 210, no.1199) (Reproduced with permission). This piece shows links with the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from the area between Durham and the River Tees. It has also been suggested that this piece depicts Biblical imagery or scenes from Scandinavian mythology though the carving is too crude to be certain.

6.6 Corbridge, Hexham and Bywell

6.6.01 Corbridge

Corbridge has a long ecclesiastical history. Symeon recorded that in AD 786 Aldulf was consecrated Bishop of Mayo by Archbishop Eanbald and Bishops Tilberht and Hygbald in the monastery at *Et Corabrige* which is now known to be Corbridge (HR sa.786). Ecclesiastical functions go back further than this, with the tower of St Andrew's church being altered and raised during the Anglo-Saxon period, suggesting that the church had an earlier history (Briggs, Cambridge and Bailey 1983) with a date of the late seventh century being suggested for its founding (Craster 1914, 15). The ditch running from Stagshaw road to Orchard Vale may have once enclosed the seventh or eighth century monastery, at the centre of which was St Andrew's church (Northumberland County Council and English Heritage 2008, 17). How long the monastic settlement lasted is unknown and it may be that it perished in the mid-ninth century as a result of Scandinavian attacks. The only sculptural evidence from Corbridge, dates from the eleventh century (Cramp 1977, 239-241&251), perhaps suggesting that the monastery was not active prior to this.

Far from being a purely ecclesiastical site, Corbridge may have also been a royal '*vill'* (Craster 1914, 16). Corbridge housed a royal manor in the twelfth century and given that Hexham Abbey was built on land donated by Queen Etheldreda, then the monastery at Corbridge may also have been built using a similar royal donation, suggesting that there may have been a manor there in earlier times if it was royal land (Craster 1914, 16). Historical sources record that King Ethelred was murdered on April 18th AD 796 at a place which the sources

call either Cobre or Corebrygge (Craster 1914, 16), a likely reference to Corbridge. That a king was murdered there is highly suggestive of the presence of a royal villa (Craster 1914, 16).

Halfdan and his army camped on the River Tyne during the winter of AD 874-875, during which time they overran Northumbria and raided the Picts and Strathclyde Britons (Roesdahl 2016, 236). It was during this encampment on the River Tyne that Hexham Abbey was said to have been ransacked and destroyed (Craster 1914, 21). The *Historia Regum*, *Annales Lindisfarnensis* and *The History of the Church of Durham* all mention how churches and monasteries were deserted as a result of Halfdan's activities in the area (Johnson-South 2001, 86). This ravaging of Northumbria has traditionally been seen as the motivation behind the Community of St Cuthbert's seven year period of wandering (Johnson-South 2001, 86). The most prominent event at Corbridge though was the battle AD 913 or AD 914 between the Anglo-Scandinavian leader Ragnall and his forces and a coalition of Northumbrians and Scots in (HSC 22).

Perhaps one of the most interesting references to Corbridge comes from a mid-ninth century Irish poet, who told the tale of an Irishman, named Murchad, who was captured by Scandinavians and sold as a slave at Corbridge (Ó Cróinín 2013, 250). Whilst probably being fictional the story nevertheless shows that at this time, the mid-ninth century, Corbridge was well known outside Northumbria as a centre of trade and that slaves may have been sold there. It also perhaps suggests that the Scandinavians may have visited Corbridge regularly if they knew that they had a market for their slaves there (Snape 2003).

Geographical location also played a major role in Corbridge's history with the town lying at the cross roads where Dere Street, the main north-south route and the Tyne Valley, the main east-west route meet (Craster 1914, 457). Dere Street offered a route between York and Edinburgh whilst the River Tyne connected Carlisle and Newcastle (Oram 2016). Given its links with other areas of Scandinavian settlement and the fact that it was an extremely valuable economic and strategic location, Corbridge would have made a prime target for any incoming Scandinavians looking to assert their power in the region.

A midsummer fair was also held at Stagshaw Bank in Corbridge (Craster 1914, 86) and would have likely attracted any raiding parties keen to plunder valuable assets. During the festival, the town's population, and others from surrounding areas, given that it was the primary fair in the Tyne Valley, would have busily engaged in trade and exchange (Craster 1914, 146). Initially, it seemed that much of the trade concerned ironwork though later livestock became the principal commodity that was traded (Craster 1914, 146). The fair seems to have been in existence at the beginning of the thirteenth century and it is highly likely that it traces its origins back to the Anglo-Saxon period, as suggested by the fact that Portgate, less than a mile away, derives its name partly from the Old English word *'port'* meaning market (Snape 2003). As such, the market would likely have been around during the period of Anglo-Scandinavian activity (Craster 1914, 146).

Given its strategic and economic importance as well as the role it played in both ecclesiastical and governmental affairs, Corbridge would seem to be a prime target for incoming Scandinavians looking to influence events in the region.

It has been suggested that the Corbridge coin hoard found in St Andrew's church was deposited due to Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the area, though this is not certain (Northumberland County Council and English Heritage 2009b, 11). Historical sources are silent on these years in Northumbria.

The poem about Murchad, whilst probably describing fictional events, does seem to strongly suggest the possibility that the Scandinavians were aware of Corbridge's presence and had perhaps visited before (Snape 2003). The fact that they took Murchad there suggests that Corbridge may have had a reputation as a place where slaves were sold (Snape 2003). Given the proximity between Hexham and Corbridge it is not hard to imagine that if any Scandinavians visited Corbridge they would also be aware of Hexham's existence, with some suggesting that Hexham and Corbridge's monasteries were destroyed by Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the mid-ninth century (Craster 1914, 21).

If the incoming Scandinavians were aware of both Corbridge and the surrounding area's geography, wealth and strategic location it would have made for a prime target for raiding. Both the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of the Four Masters* record that in AD 848 and AD 849, groups of Scandinavians in Ireland suffered heavy defeats at the hands of the Irish (AU sa.848.4,848.5,848,6,848.7) (AFM sa.849.9). It was not uncommon for defeated enemies to be expelled or for them to retreat elsewhere and Ragnall, who would later lead his army in battle at Corbridge, was probably expelled from Dublin in AD 902 (Ó Corráin 2002). Smyth has suggested the Scandinavian practice of attacking important sites during festivals, when large numbers of people gathered in a single place to maximise the number of slaves captured could have occurred at Corbridge (Smyth 1975, 93-103).

Whilst the motivation for capturing slaves from Corbridge is not apparent, Anglo-Scandinavian knowledge of the area and its wealth more generally, does seem plausible. The destruction of the monasteries at Hexham and Corbridge, Ragnall's decision to fight at Corbridge, and the poem about Murchad all seem to suggest a tradition of knowledge and perhaps contact with the area around Corbridge. Indeed if Corbridge was a centre of trade as has been suggested, the period AD 848 to AD 849 would seem an opportune time to attack following the turmoil which would have occurred if the possibility that King Aethelred II of Northumbria was assassinated in AD 848 is true (Kirby 2002, 162&163). The lack of popularity of Aethelred's successor Osbehrt would also have provided another opportunity to attack, though it is not necessarily clear whether Osbehrt was unpopular in the beginning of his reign as he was towards the end of it before he was expelled (Kirby 2002, 162&163).

The watermill at Corbridge, described as Norse style, is one of only a few such watermills found in England (Snape 2003). The reference to the watermill as Norse seems to refer to a specific type of mill, rather than one with any discernible links to Scandinavian culture. A brief look at both the mill itself as well as contextual information suggests that it was probably not constructed by Anglo-Scandinavians. To construct such a mill would have been a considerable undertaking requiring significant manpower and material (Snape 2003). Large quantities of stone and timber would have had to have been transported to the site, where an equally prodigious amount of labour was required to split both the sizeable timbers and blocks of Roman stone (Snape 2003). All this needed to be completed before the building of the structure could begin.

Given that there is no evidence for a permanent Anglo-Scandinavian presence at Corbridge, with the only evidence suggesting Scandinavian raiding parties, the designation of this watermill as Norse is highly unlikely. It is highly improbable that a raiding party would have the manpower and time to construct such a monument. The mill seems to have been constructed in or after the mid-ninth century and then modified towards the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century (Snape 2003). The effort required would rule out any of the early raiding parties but the timeframe for the construction and use of this mill would allow for its construction by later Anglo-Scandinavian rulers. However, there is no firm evidence for this. It may have been built by Anglo-Scandinavians or by Anglo-Saxons given that Corbridge was a high status site with important economic, strategic, political and ecclesiastical functions.

Despite the documentary evidence which suggests an Anglo-Scandinavian familiarity with Corbridge, little suggests this familiarity ever materialised into anything more permanent. Other than early raids and Ragnall's battle there appears to be no other Anglo-Scandinavian activity at Corbridge. This lack of activity is puzzling given that the historical sources record their familiarity with the area and the early hoards attest to this as well. Why the incoming Scandinavians would not return to an area which they knew geographically and had visited before, would provide them with wealth and valuable assets and would also offer them a strategic location from which they could influence events in the region remains a mystery. It surely would have made sense for the Anglo-Scandinavians to take control of this important place. Ragnall's victory at Corbridge provided him with the perfect opportunity to gain control of Corbridge but it seems that he did not.

The lack of clear evidence for at least a semi-permanent presence in the area may be down to the way the area was ruled. It is possible that the area was subject to Anglo-Scandinavian rule but not settlement, with little changing apart from the ruler to whom taxes were paid. Anglo-Saxons may have ruled on behalf of an Anglo-Scandinavian ruler. Ragnall gave lands to Anglo-Saxons (HSC 24), perhaps at the expense of Anglo-Scandinavians and it seems unlikely that his captains Scula and Onlafbal would be able to rule the regions given to them without some form of local help. Alternatively, there may have been some settlement in this area, as perhaps suggested by sculpture at nearby Bywell. This settlement would have been limited and at present there is little evidence for it, although future discoveries may shed light on such settlement. Regardless of whether there was settlement or not, Anglo-Scandinavian activity seems to have had little impact on Corbridge. The monastery may have ceased to function possibly as a result of Anglo-Scandinavian raiding activity but the town continued to be economically and strategically important.

6.6.02 Hexham

It was under the guidance of Wilfrid, founder of the monastery at Hexham in the seventh century (Rollason 2003, 13) that Hexham became an important bishopric in Northumbria in the 660s (Rollason 2003, 131). Following a grant of land from Queen Etheldreda, Wilfrid established an abbey at Hexham (Craster 1914, 16). The importance of the site did not seem to last particularly long with the reign of the last Bishop of Hexham seeming to end in AD 821 or AD 822 (Raine 1863, xl). Numerous theories have been put forward for Hexham's

decline. William of Malmesbury suggested Scandinavian activity, writing, "the army of the Danes, feared since the days of Alcuin, came to our land. They killed or put to flight the people from Hexham, set fire to the roofs of their dwellings and exposed their private rooms to the skies." (GPA Chapter 117).

Others have suggested because the bishopric disappeared during peaceful times as it was most likely that the See of Hexham was no longer required with one Bishop being adequate to carry out pastoral work between the rivers Tees and Tyne (Raine 1863, xli). This may not be the full story though and it may have been that the Community of St Cuthbert used any instability to acquire Hexham's estates, reduce its power and ultimately cause its downfall (Aird 1998, 36). The fact that the Community of St Cuthbert ruled over the old See of Hexham between the ninth and eleventh centuries further supports this theory (Aird 1998, 36).

Hexham's decline would seem more likely to have stemmed from political and religious events, possibly influenced by the Community of St Cuthbert, rather than from the actions of incoming Scandinavians. Apart from William of Malmesbury's account no other historical sources make reference to such an attack and there seems to be no archaeological evidence to correspond to the attack. The Hexham hoard contained over eight thousand stycas (Northumberland County Council and English Heritage 2009b, 11). The hoard seems to have been deposited in either AD 848 or AD 849 but the circumstances of its deposition are unclear (Pirie 2006). A hoard from Whitby bears many similarities in terms of dating and circumstances of deposition, which raises the question of what was happening in Northumbria in the middle of the ninth century that caused such hoards to be deposited and the possible abandonment of sites (Pirie 2006).

Indeed like many other monastic sites in the region, Hexham's sculpture production declines dramatically after the end of the eighth century.

The deposition of the Hexham hoard could have been due to Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the area (Northumberland County Council and English Heritage 2009b, 11), though its deposition almost two decades before Halfdan's settlement of Northumbria and two and a half decades after the traditional date for the ending of the reign of the last Bishop of Hexham, suggests that Anglo-Scandinavians were not responsible for Hexham's decline and that the hoard may have been deposited due to the general turbulence of the era. The *HSC,* the *ASC* and Symeon are silent on these years in Northumbria.

Hexham would suffer from Anglo-Scandinavian incursions though and in AD 875 Hexham along with Lindisfarne and Carlisle were sacked by Halfdan and his marauding army (Forte, Oram and Pedersen 2005, 75). Like much of the rest of the region then, Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the Hexham area seems initially to have been limited to raids and sackings. The lack of sculpture from Hexham dating from the ninth century or later seems to be a reflection of its declining importance as the focus shifted to new monastic sites such as Chester-le-Street or secular churches.

6.6.03 Bywell

The consecration of Egbert to the office of Bishop of Lindisfarne occurred at Bywell on 11th June, most likely in AD 803(Libellus Book II Chapter 5). Religious functions at the site may go back further than this.

Bywell has two Anglo-Saxon churches, the church of St Peter and the church of St Andrew (Hodgson 1902, 1). The church of St Peter has been plausibly suggested as being the location from which Æthulwulf wrote his poem *De Abbatibus,* which was dedicated to Bishop Egbert, who was consecrated at Bywell (Howlett 1975). If this identification is correct, as may be the case, then according to the poem, the history of the site would seem to go back to the period between AD 704 and AD 716 (Howlett 1975). It was during this period that Ealdorman Eanmund, fleeing from the tyrannical rule of King Osred, sought help from Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, who helped him to establish a monastic cell, which is believed to have been at Bywell (Howlett 1975). Archaeological evidence may in fact suggest an earlier date for both churches as they may both contain possible sculpture from the seventh century (Rollason 2003, 52) and it has been suggested that they may be linked with Wilfrid of Hexham (Featherstonhaugh 1859).

There is little evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity at Bywell. The lower part of a cross-shaft was found in St Andrew's church and dates from the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 168). Anglo-Scandinavian motifs are depicted on this piece, linking it with the Isle of Man, Cumbria, North Yorkshire and Sockburn, all areas where Scandinavian settlement is attested to (Cramp 1977, 168). Whilst this piece may have Anglian influence, it may have been created with "direct

influence from the Scandinavian world" (Cramp 1977, 168). The fact that the piece was found in St Andrew's church, which was the smaller and seemingly less important of the two, is surprising.

The presence of the sculpture in Bywell is puzzling given that there is no other evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the area. It has been suggested that Bywell's inland location saved it from Scandinavian raids (Howlett 1975), whilst others have put forward the view that in fact Bywell may have suffered during the raids of AD 793 and AD 794 and that Egbert's ordination marked the church of St Peter's restoration following these attacks (Gilbert 1946). Though there is no documentary evidence for such raids, they may have occurred at nearby Hexham and Corbridge, though in the mid-ninth century. Given that Bywell was famous for its metalworking and St Peter's church was known to house many valuable and precious items (Howlett 1975), the lack of evidence of Anglo-Scandinavian presence remains surprising.

That the Bywell carving shows a direct link with the Scandinavian world (Cramp 1977, 168) suggests some form of Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the area. This piece may reflect the wider trend of the shift in importance during the study period from earlier monastic centres to secular churches. Given the decline of nearby Hexham and Corbridge, it may be that Bywell came to prominence and replaced these earlier institutions in ecclesiastical importance. Again, like other churches in the region, it would be tempting to attribute the foundation of this church to Anglo-Scandinavian activity, especially given that the sculpture found at this site may have direct links with Scandinavia. However, another piece of sculpture from Bywell may date from the seventh or eighth century suggesting the church is from this period. The lack of sculpture in the region limits the ability to

extend the theory. It may be that such pieces were created for later Anglo-Scandinavian patrons. There seems to have been some form of Anglo-Scandinavian activity at Bywell but its full impact is unclear at present.

Figure 75 – *Lower part of a tenth century cross-shaft from Bywell.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 162, no.853) (Reproduced with permission). The use of the ribbon animal motif, the ring-knot pattern and pendent triangle motifs are all features of Anglo-Scandinavian art and are found on carvings from areas of known Scandinavian settlement (Cramp 1977, 168). It may be that this piece of sculpture has "direct influence from the Scandinavian world" (Cramp 1977, 168).

6.7 South Tyne

Symeon referred to the South Tyne as a boundary for the Diocese of Lindisfarne (HR sa.854). The only evidence is a piece of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture dredged from the River South Tyne. The late date of mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century seems to suggest that this piece was not associated with the early Scandinavian settlement. It may be that it was created elsewhere and deposited or lost in the South Tyne.

Figure 76 – *Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century incomplete cross-shaft from the South Tyne.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 220, no.1246) (Reproduced with permission). The patterns with closed circuit loops depicted on this piece of sculpture are commonly found on Anglo-Scandinavian monuments (Cramp 1977, 225).

6.8 Other Sites

6.8.01 Ornsby Hill

Ornsby Hill derives from the Old Norse personal name *'Orm'* and the Old Norse suffix '*býr'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2002, 89). The *'býr'* element as discussed earlier is strong evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity.

6.8.02 Gunnerton

Gunnerton consists of the Old Norse personal name *'Gunnvor'* and the Old English suffix *'tūn'* (Ekwall 1970, 208). Gunnerton was first recorded in AD 1170 (Ekwall, 1970, 208) meaning that there is the possibility that it was not named during the period of Scandinavian settlement but was named later and so its value as evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity is questionable. The lack of other evidence in this area for Scandinavian settlement may suggest that it was not named during the period of Scandinavian settlement.

6.8.03 Ouston

Ouston derives from '*Ulkil',* a form of the Anglo-Scandinavian personal name '*Ulfkil'* (Watts 2002, 89). The suffix on Ouston probably actually derived from the Old English '*stān'* meaning stone, rather than the Old English '*tūn'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Watts 2002, 89). As such it was probably that the place-name may have referred to a boundary stone (Watts 2002, 89). There is little evidence to suggest Ouston was an early formation (Pons Sanz 2000, 35) and the lack of any specifically Old Norse naming element such as the '*býr'* suffix as mentioned for Ornsby Hill, prevents a full understanding of its significance and impact.

6.9 Regional Conclusion

From AD 794 to the election of Guthred in AD 882 northern County Durham and southern Northumberland were subjected to a number of raids, some of which were responsible for the decline of existing monastic centres. Other monastic centres declined during this period as the decreasing importance of Hexham and dramatic drop in sculptural production at sites after the eighth century illustrate. These older monastic settlements were replaced in importance by the two sites associated with the Community of St Cuthbert, Chester-le-Street and later Durham.

The other period of activity was roughly from Guthred's election in AD 882 to the end of Cnut's reign in AD 1035, though there were breaks in Scandinavian influence. During this period an Anglo-Scandinavian identity and presence began to form, as the employment of sculpture, an Anglian tradition, largely non-existent in Scandinavia, with Scandinavian designs shows. Little suggests attempts to promote Scandinavian unity and instead a willingness to work within the existing framework of power and display an identity based on the circumstances of the time. Guthred was favourable to the Community and Christianity more generally; perhaps feeling that he owed his position to the Community. The grant of land if made by both Guthred and Alfred perhaps shows Guthred's eagerness to emulate Alfred and take on the role of an English king and the ideology that went with it. Ragnall and his followers seem to have felt more powerful, hence their general hostility to the Community. Despite this difference, Ragnall's actions do not indicate any attempts to form and maintain Scandinavian unity given that he granted lands to Anglo-Saxons, perhaps at the expense of Anglo-Scandinavians.

During the period under study the area may have been subject to Anglo-Scandinavian rule but not settlement, at least not on any discernible scale. The extent and influence of this Anglo-Scandinavian rule varied depending on the ruler and their relationships with important individuals or communities. Guthred's grant to the Community, Ragnall's division of land following his victory at Corbridge and references to Olaf Sihtricsson as King of the Northumbrians, all suggest that this area came under Anglo-Scandinavian rule and would explain why there is little discernible evidence for a Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the area. Anglo-Scandinavian rule would likely mean that little would change in everyday life except the ruler to whom taxes were owed. The lack of change from the new Anglo-Scandinavian regimes is perhaps suggested by Ragnall's decision to grant lands to individuals whose name clearly identifies them as Anglo-Saxons. Furthermore, it would seem unlikely that Scula and Onlafbal would have been able to rule over the areas given to them without help.

Overlordship would explain why there is little evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the area, but specifically at important sites such as Corbridge. The historical texts suggest the Anglo-Scandinavians were familiar with the area and Ragnall had won a victory at Corbridge so it would seem logical for them to capitalise on their opportunity. If there was Anglo-Scandinavian rule in this area, it would not be necessary for there to be a clear Anglo-Scandinavian presence at sites. Corbridge could have been controlled on behalf of the Anglo-Scandinavian ruler by other individuals, resulting in little presence in the archaeological record. This would seem the most likely option for the lack of Anglo-Scandinavian presence at important sites such as Corbridge.

Anglo-Scandinavian rule over the area may have been aided, at least at certain times, by the Community of St Cuthbert. The old monastic centres such as Hexham and Monkwearmouth and Jarrow were in decline and the Community took advantage of this, making it a powerful organisation in Northumbria at this time. Relations between the Anglo-Scandinavians and the Community varied. Despite the friendly relationship between Guthred and the Community, the history of Anglo-Scandinavian relations with the Community was not always so positive. Under the rule of Halfdan and later Ragnall the Community lost large tracts of their land and in certain instances, these lands and their people were subjected to a harsh and tyrannical rule (HSC 23). Onlafbal, one of Ragnall's followers met his death when he entered the church at Chester-Le-Street and proceeded to insult the Community and its patron St Cuthbert (HSC 23). Whilst elements of this text may have been embellished in order to emphasize a certain point, it does nevertheless suggest that relations between the Scandinavian incomers and the Community of St Cuthbert were not always as cordial as they had been during Guthred's reign.

The poor relations between these two groups has been suggested as one of the reasons, if not the reason, why the Community chose Chester-Le-Street as their new headquarters following their departure from Lindisfarne.

Chester-Le-Street was already known to the Community, and was used as a temporary Bishop's residence (Cambridge 2002). The move to the site in AD 883 represented an attempt to establish a secure and defendable foothold in the region to keep hold of their lands when there were potentially hostile forces around (Cambridge 2002). Chester-Le-Street stood out from among other Bishop's residences because it was located in an old Roman fort, making it the only residence that offered a defensible location (Cambridge 2002).

Chester-Le-Street seemed to provide a suitable headquarters which would allow the Community to attempt to retain the lands in the surrounding area that they had acquired through the actions of Bishop Ecgred and later King Guthred (Cambridge 2002).

These lands, especially those in the south east and south west of the area between Tyne and Tees, were seen as the most vulnerable lands and therefore in need of the most protection, meaning that the Community did not leave Lindisfarne because it was vulnerable, but to protect somewhere more vulnerable (Cambridge 2002). These areas had suffered at the hands of the Anglo-Scandinavians and the permanent settlement of the Scandinavians did not bode well for the security of these parts of the Community's lands. Such moves by the Community suggest that, at least at times, relations with the Scandinavian incomers were not always amicable and could at certain times be hostile.

The incidents involving Ragnall and his followers as well as Halfdan may be the exception rather than the rule and relations between the Community and Anglo-Scandinavians could be cordial. Some, though not all of the Anglo-Scandinavian kings, may have recognised the power and role that the Community had in the affairs of this region and therefore respected the Community and their lands. Excluding the episodes involving Halfdan and Ragnall, the Community do not seem to have lost land in this area, and much that was lost was recovered, suggesting that is was beneficial for both parties to respect each other.

The majority of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from this area comes from the sites of Chester-le-Street and Durham, both of which were the main residences

of the Community at different points in time. Such sculpture would not be expected to occur at these sites if there was hostility between the two groups and so instead suggests cooperation.

Furthermore, the *HSC* mentioned a number of individuals who fled from various parts of England in order to take refuge with the Community (HSC 22). Abbot Eadred who took asylum with the Community after fleeing from Carlisle is a prime example, as also is an individual named Elfred Brihtwulf, who came to the Community under similar circumstances (Aird 1998, 38). It would be strange for such individuals to decide to travel to the Community's lands if these lands were not considered to be safe at least at certain times. That certain individuals were most probably fleeing from hostile Scandinavians suggests that they would not readily go to a place where they knew they would face a similar threat. Finally, the fact that the Community helped to elect an Anglo-Scandinavian king in Guthred and the Northumbrians elected Anglo-Scandinavian kings, suggests that there was not complete opposition to the new incomers and that, in some instances, there was active support. If the Community were on hostile terms with the Anglo-Scandinavians there might perhaps have been an attempt to block the later efforts at putting an Anglo-Scandinavian on the throne of York.

The Community however did not ally themselves completely with the Anglo-Scandinavians and saw that it was in their best interest to seek as much protection as possible. Their interactions with the kings of Wessex, as mentioned earlier, suggest this.

A period of raids followed by a period of Anglo-Scandinavian rule best explains the evidence from northern County Durham and southern

Northumberland. This explains why little suggests an Anglo-Scandinavian presence at sites where there would be expected to be one or why Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture was produced at the main residences of the Community of St Cuthbert. The evidence is too limited to suggest settlement and sources like the *HSC* would likely mention if Anglo-Scandinavians settled in or around the Community's lands. The impact of the Anglo-Scandinavian rule seems to be limited to cultural influence as illustrated by the rather small number of Anglo-Scandinavian carvings. The limited impact of overlordship would explain the limited number of Scandinavian place-names and artefacts in this area.

7.Data Analysis and Synthesis – Northern Northumberland and south east Scotland

7.1 History of the region

Much of the source material for this region is of a later origin and presents a confused picture, especially in terms of the length of reigns. Additionally, many of the sources are later Anglo-Norman work designed to stress the continuity between the authority of Lindisfarne and Chester-le-Street (Woolf 2007, 80) or to limit the power of the earls and sheriffs of Northumbria south of the Tyne, whilst also stressing the Community of St Cuthbert's claim to this area (Woolf 2007, 78).

The *ASC* entry for AD 793 recorded the raid and massacre at Lindisfarne, following a series of dire omens (ASC sa.793). No raids were recorded for Eardwulf or Eanred's reign, which probably covered the first half of the ninth century, though this may be down to poor source material (Woolf 2007, 69). Later, Kenneth MacAlpin invaded Northumbria six times and burned Dunbar and overthrew Melrose (Woolf 2007, 94). This may have occurred in AD 858 but it is not clear whether it was a sustained six year campaign or simply a series of yearly raids for six years (Woolf 2007, 101). Further attacks on the Diocese of Lindisfarne during the 850s may have been carried out by Picts or Scandinavians and have possibly gone unrecorded (Woolf 2007, 82).

After their success at York in AD 867, the Great Army appointed Ecgbert to rule on their behalf (Woolf 2007, 73). The area ruled by Ecgbert would have extended south of the Tyne but there is no evidence from the historical sources that the Scandinavians stayed there to support him, as they moved further south

(Woolf 2007, 75). Halfdan, one of the leaders of the Great Army, was referred to by Asser as King of the Northumbrians in AD 876 (Woolf 2007, 77).

The *Chronicle of Melrose* mentioned that King Alfred populated the parts of Northumbria that had been devastated by Halfdan and Ivar (Chron. Melrose sa.883). As well as suggesting that Alfred intended to strengthen his position in the area, it may also suggest that certain parts of Northumbria were not affected by Halfdan or Ivar's presence or at least not affected enough to warrant resettlement. It was during Alfred's reign that Guthred became king and relations between the Community of St Cuthbert and the Anglo-Scandinavians improved. The only evidence for Guthred's successors, Sigurer and Cnut are the coins they minted (Woolf 2007, 138). The *ASC* recorded that Æthelwold, son of King Æthelred I of Wessex, gained the support of the Great Army in Northumbria and was accepted by them as king (Woolf 2007, 139). Given that this would clash with the reigns of Sigurer and Cnut, it may suggest that the Great Army accepted his claim to the kingship of Wessex (Woolf 2007, 139).

In AD 910 the joint kings of Northumbria are recorded as having raided Mercia (Woolf 2007, 139), with their deaths ending the Anglo-Danish dynasty until Anglo-Scandinavian rule was revived by Ragnall after his victory at Corbridge in AD 913 (Woolf 2007, 139). Ragnall's reign was short and he died in AD 921, being replaced by his brother Sihtric (Woolf 2007, 148). Following Sihtric's death in AD 927 one of his Hiberno-Norse kinsmen, Gothfrith tried to take control of Northumbria but was repelled by Æthelstan (Woolf 2007, 151). Æthelstan's impact on Northumbria is unclear but in AD 934 he ravaged Scotland, perhaps as part of a dispute with the Scottish king on who should be placed on the throne of Northumbria (Woolf 2007, 165). Following Æthelstan's

passing in AD 939, Anglo-Scandinavian rule returned, with Olaf Guthfrithson elected as King of York (Woolf 2007, 352).

The *Chronicle of Melrose* reported that in AD 941 Guthfrithson sacked the monasteries at Tyninghame, Auldhame and Lindisfarne (Chron. Melrose sa.941), in a move that may have represented a reassertion of his power over those who thought they lived outside his realm of influence (Woolf 2007, 174). Olaf Guthfrithson died a few days after the raid, being replaced by Olaf Sihtricson, son of the earlier ruler Sihtric (Woolf 2007, 174). In AD 943 Olaf Sihtricson accepted baptism and submitted to Edmund, King of Wessex, though later sources mention that he was driven out of Northumbria (Woolf 2007, 182). Whether or not this was the case is unclear but it seems that he was driven out in AD 944 along with Ragnall, son of Gothfrith, who had become king, by Edmund who had taken all of Northumbria (Woolf 2007, 182).

A turbulent period followed during which the Northumbrians elected Eadred as king in AD 946, only to later reject him in favour of Eric Bloodaxe (Woolf 2007, 186). Eadred returned in AD 948, ravaging York and the surrounding area and prepared for a full invasion of Northumbria, forcing the Northumbrians to depose Eric and offer Eadred the kingship (Woolf 2007, 186). Eadred was not successful, with Olaf Sihtricson returning to claim the throne in AD 949 (Woolf 2007, 186). During this turmoil Malcolm I of Scotland proceeded to raid Northumbria as far south as the Tees as recorded in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* (Woolf 2007, 188). The short-lived and tumultuous reigns of the Anglo-Scandinavians in Northumbria would continue as Eric Bloodaxe returned and claimed the right to rule Northumbria (Woolf 2007, 188&189). Eric's reign

would end in AD 954 and with it Anglo-Scandinavian rule in Northumbria (Woolf 2007, 190).

Bamburgh was sacked in AD 993 (Howard 2003, 43) and the *Chronicle of Melrose* noted that an army of Danes 'consumed' the greater part of Northumbria following battles further south (Chron. Melrose sa.993). There seems to have been little time for respite and recovery as the *Chronicle of Melrose* recorded that in AD 994 Olaf Tryggvason, King of the Norwegians and Swein Forkbeard, King of the Danes ravaged the whole of England (Chron. Melrose sa.994). Swein returned twenty years later in AD 1014 and ravaged most of England (Chron. Melrose sa.1014) and a year earlier in AD 1013 Earl Uhtred and all of Northumbria had submitted to Swein (Holman 2003, 201).

Between Swein's attacks, Durham came under siege from the Scottish, as recorded in the *De obsessione Dunelmi* (Woolf 2007, 233). The siege was unsuccessful though the Scottish would gain control of Lothian (Woolf 2007, 254&255). Undeterred, Scottish forces besieged Durham in late AD 1039 or AD 1040 but were again unsuccessful (Woolf 2007, 254&255). Northumbria would later suffer at the hands of William the Conqueror's ravaging of the north and then Malcolm III of Scotland's raids in AD 1070 and AD 1079 (Wyatt 2009, 368).

Despite the pressure caused by Anglo-Scandinavian activity, areas of Northumbria may have successfully resisted the invaders. The Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Clonmacnoise, recorded Ealdred as King of the North Saxons (Woolf 2009) suggesting possible independence from Anglo-Scandinavian rule further south. This was not always the case as the *HSC* recorded that Ragnall

occupied Ealdred of Bamburgh's territory (HSC 22). Ealdred fled to Scotland allying himself with Constantine and the two would ultimately fight Ragnall at Corbridge (HSC 22). Royal charters recorded that Oswulf, Ealdred's son, was a witness to these royal charters. In these charters he is described as "high-reeve of Bamburgh" (Hudson 2004) and may have held a very similar if not the same position, in which case the title suggests less influence, power and territory than King of the North Saxons.

7.2 Sites within the area associated with the bishopric of Lindisfarne (HR sa. 854)

7.2.01 Thirston

Seven artefacts have been recovered from the civil parish of Thirston and one from very close by. The name Thirston may suggest Scandinavian influence as Thurston in East Lothian derives from the Old Norse name *'þori'* or *'þuri'* which are extremely well documented in the Domesday Book (Nicolaisen 1976, 117). The finds from Thirston and nearby consist of four, possibly five, gaming pieces, one lead weight, one copper alloy stud and one strap end. Apart from the strap end which may show Anglo-Scandinavian interlace designs, all the other small finds have been attributed solely to Scandinavian culture (The British Museum, n.d.).

Lead gaming pieces, like those from Thirston, occur in significant numbers in areas of known Anglo-Scandinavian presence. The Scandinavian winter camp in Torksey, Lincolnshire produced two hundred and eighty nine of them (Hadley, Richards et al 2016). Lead gaming pieces are also found in Scandinavian burials, especially ship burials (Hall 2016). Board games were an

essential part of life on board a ship, helping to form and cement relationships (Hall 2016) and the Scandinavian ship burial at Saalme, Estonia produced over three hundred pieces (Hall 2016).

Board games and their associated pieces represent a male elite, which would seem to be consistent with what is known about the conquest and settlement of Northumbria. This male elite identity is not restricted to warriors, as the man buried on a farm in Egge, Norway may have been both a warrior and a trader (Hall 2016). This dual role is especially interesting given the possible evidence for trade in the form of the lead weight. Thirston has few gaming pieces compared with the examples mentioned above, though four or possibly five is not an insignificant number and reports mention that more were found but not reported, further strengthening the idea of a possible Anglo-Scandinavian presence (The British Museum, n.d.).

Recent work on the Danelaw has shown that lead weights formed part of an alternative Scandinavian economy based on bullion and hack silver as opposed to the Anglo-Saxon coin based economy (Kershaw 2017), which was highly controlled and regulated meaning it was unlikely that bullion and hack silver would be accepted as payment by Anglo-Saxons (Kershaw 2017). In some instances it is possible that such weights were cultural markers, showing a shared identity (Kershaw 2017), helping to form and cement inter-Scandinavian relations between traders and setting them apart from the coin using Anglo-Saxons (Kershaw 2017). It seems likely that this alternative economy extended beyond the Danelaw as other lead weights and hack silver hoards found in Northumbria suggest.

The final two objects are a copper alloy stud and a strap end. Little can be said about the strap end other than it is Anglo-Scandinavian (The British Museum, n.d.). Copper alloy studs have been found in different Scandinavian contexts with differing uses. A copper alloy stud from Pàlstófir in Iceland was interpreted as an item of personal adornment (Lucas 2008) whilst another from a Scandinavian grave at Balnakiel, Sutherland in Scotland has been suggested as being a possible king piece from a Scandinavian board game, though this is not certain (Batey and Paterson 2012). The king piece interpretation for Thirston's copper alloy stud is certainly a possibility given the other gaming pieces found at Thirston.

One speculative option is that Thirston may have been a Grimston hybrid. The lead weights have clear links to Scandinavia given their association with the alternative economy mentioned earlier. Anglo-Saxon items from the site possibly suggest an earlier presence. A number of the items at Thirston occur at Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites such as Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber (Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 96) and Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire (McCormick and Watson 2010, 83). The numbers involved in the assemblage from Thirston are smaller than from the cemetery sites mentioned. There is variability in the frequency of certain finds depending on the period. Pins are uncommon on early Anglo-Saxon sites but common on Middle Anglo-Saxon sites. The biconical pins have been commonly recovered at sites such as Flixborough, Cottam B, South Newbold, Cottam A and Cowlam. At Cottam B twenty three were found and at Cowlam one hundred, with their usage seeming to be consistent throughout the Anglian period (Haldenby and Richards 2009).

Anglo-Saxon girdle hangers were often found in women's graves and were used as a marker to show a shared identity (Felder 2014). They are common in the early Saxon period (Flynn 2016). The fact that the one from Thirston was reused instead of being discarded perhaps points towards its value and importance. Though the items from Thirston occur in smaller numbers than from Anglo-Saxon sites elsewhere, the range of artefacts as well as the period that they cover suggests that there may be value in carrying out further research at Thirston.

Figure 77 – *Ninth to eleventh century Scandinavian cast lead gaming piece from Thirston.* (The British Museum 2011). A number of gaming pieces were found at Thirston. Gaming pieces seem to have been an important element in a Scandinavian male's social life (Hall 2016).

Figure 78 –*Ninth to eleventh century Scandinavian style lead weight from Thirston.* (The British Museum 2010). This piece, which seems to be Scandinavian in style, may have formed part of an alternative Scandinavian economy (Kershaw 2017).

Figure 79 –*Ninth to mid-eleventh century Scandinavian copper alloy stud from Thirston.*(The British Museum 2014). This piece is Scandinavian in style and similar pieces have been found in Scandinavian contexts elsewhere.

7.2.02 Rothbury

In addition to being a settlement, Rothbury was the location of a double Anglo-Saxon church, with two adjacent churches connected by a church tower (Durham County Council and Northumberland County Council, 2016). Rothbury has produced one piece of sculpture, which seems to depict the Crucifixion. The positioning and rendering of the figures on this piece could have been influenced by Scandinavian artistic preferences, though not enough has survived to determine whether this piece shows the northern Northumbrian placement style of Christ or the placement style from the areas of southern Northumbria which were subject to more Scandinavian influence (Cramp 1977, 217-221). If this piece does show the placement style of southern Northumbria, the dating of this piece raises some interesting and puzzling questions about possible Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the area.

The sculpture has been dated to the first half of the ninth century (Cramp 1977, 217-221), almost two decades before the *ASC* recorded that the Scandinavians settled in Northumbria (ASC sa.876). The early to mid-ninth century date of this piece of sculpture brings up issues regarding interactions between the incoming Scandinavians and the local population. Scandinavia had very few traditions of stone carving, Gotland being the exception, meaning that the possible Scandinavian influence on this piece is puzzling in this light (Cramp 1977, 217-221). Furthermore, possible Scandinavian influence on this piece depicting Christian iconography came at a time when the Anglo-Scandinavians had not converted to Christianity. Their influence on something important such as the placement of Christ on the sculpture seems rather strange given their seemingly lack of knowledge of Christian belief.

The initial interactions between the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavian incomers seem to have been characterised by violence and terror on the part of the Scandinavians. The historical sources point towards this, as do finds such as the Hexham or Corbridge hoards mentioned earlier. There seems to be no good reason why monks and other religious would let themselves be influenced by or possibly even adopt aspects of the culture of those who were attacking them. Given these problems then, perhaps this indicates that the carving is of the northern Northumbrian and not the southern Northumbrian type. Like many of the other areas though, there seems to have been little disruption caused by the Anglo-Scandinavians.

Figure 80 –*Incomplete cross-head from an incomplete cross-shaft in three pieces, dating from the first half of the ninth century from Rothbury.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer G. Finch) (Cramp 1977 Plate 211, no.1206) (Reproduced with permission). The placement of the Crucified Jesus in the cross-head may suggest Scandinavian influence since this was a common feature of tenth and eleventh century cross-shafts from the Scandinavian influenced regions of southern Northumbria (Cramp 1977, 217-221). However, not enough this cross-head has survived to be able to tell whether or not there is influence from the Scandinavian influenced regions of southern Northumbria (Cramp 1977, 217-221).

7.2.03 Warkworth

Warkworth and its dependencies came into the Community of St Cuthbert's possession following King Ceolwulf's abdication and decision to the join the Community (HSC 8). Historical sources differ on the extent of the lands that came with Warkworth, with the *HSC* recording that the grant covered a much larger area of land than the works of Symeon seem to suggest (Johnson-South 2001, 83). It may have been that the *HSC* was describing a composite estate since it used the phrase "vill with dependencies" when referring to Warkworth. The *HSC* used this phrase when referring to composite estates (Johnson-South 2001, 83). The later parish of Warkworth, if it was extended to include nearby Brainshaugh which was mentioned by Symeon as part of the gift of King Ceolwulf, would cover roughly 7200 hectares, an area very similar in size to many of the other twelve '*vill'* estates mentioned in the *HSC* (Johnson-South 2001, 83).

These lands remained in the Community's hands until they were seized by Osberht (Aird 1998, 28). Osberht's demise was swift and he perished in York in AD 867 with his co-ruler Ælla whilst trying to fight the incoming Scandinavians and it seems that the lands he had seized returned to the Community (HR sa.867). Whilst Halfdan was recorded as having camped on the Tyne and ravaged the area from coast to coast (HR sa.875), there is no evidence that Warkworth suffered from Anglo-Scandinavian activity. A wooden church may have existed prior to the Scandinavians' arrival but it is unclear whether they were responsible for its destruction (Craster 1954).

The Warkworth estate seems to have survived and remained in the Community's possession. The sculptural evidence, a grave marker from the tenth

or eleventh century, shows attempts at a Scandinavian ring-chain pattern (Cramp 1977, 231). This is not conclusive evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian presence and it may have been the result of a non-Scandinavian individual copying a pattern that he liked, though it could plausibly be the work of a Scandinavian. Given the importance of this piece as a grave marker, and that it is the only such grave marker out of those from this region to attempt this pattern (Cramp 1977, 231), it could be that the individual, who owned it was Scandinavian and thought it important to have a cultural marker on it. This is of course speculative and would be difficult to prove and Warkworth, seems to have been largely unaffected by Anglo-Scandinavian activity.

Figure 81 – *Tenth to eleventh century grave marker from Warkworth.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemas) (Cramp 1977 Plate 229, no.1288) (Reproduced with permission). The Scandinavian ring-chain pattern can be seen underneath the cross- arms (Cramp 1977, 231). These grave markers tend to be more common in County Durham than in Northumberland and this is the only grave marker from the region to attempt the Scandinavian ring chain pattern (Cramp 1977, 231).

7.2.04 Bamburgh

Bamburgh was the secular equivalent of Lindisfarne, with the site being a Northumbrian royal stronghold (Gething and Albert 2012, 17) though it was sacked by Swein Forkbeard in AD 993 (Chron. Melrose sa.993) and may have been occupied around AD 913 when Ragnall seized the lands of Ealdred, reeve of Bamburgh (HSC 22). Bamburgh's archaeological evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence is limited consisting of a walrus tusk, which suggests trade links with Scandinavia, since Scandinavians operated and controlled the walrus tusk trade (Pierce 2009).

The find may indicate a high status individual with considerable resources given that the account of Ohthere, a Norwegian traveller, mentioned the difficulty in acquiring walrus tusk (Seaver 2015, 106). Walrus tusk was used in the production of many luxury items (Winroth 2012, 86) and was considered a suitable gift for Ohthere to grant to King Alfred (Seaver 2015, 106). Walrus tusks were clearly valued by Scandinavians, but as Ohthere's account stated, they seem to have been equally valuable to Anglo-Saxons. A northern European merchant network trading high status items seems to have been in operation between the eighth and eleventh centuries, as other evidence from the area indicates and Bamburgh may have been included in this network. Despite the raids, Bamburgh seems to have been relatively unaffected by Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the long term.

7.2.05 Lindisfarne

Lindisfarne's ecclesiastical history began with the founding of a monastery by Saint Aidan in AD 635 (Rollason 2003, 44). Monastic life continued until AD 793 when Lindisfarne was sacked by Scandinavians (ASC sa.793). In the mid to late ninth century, Lindisfarne seems to have been abandoned, with the Community using Norham, Chester-le-Street and eventually Durham as their main residence (Aird 1998, 17). Despite this, there may have still been an ecclesiastical presence on the island of Lindisfarne as historical sources suggest. There may have been Pictish or Scandinavian raids in the 850s or earlier but have gone unrecorded (Woolf 2007, 69&82). Olaf Guthfrithson raided Lindisfarne, Tyninghame and Auldhame in AD 941(HR sa.941) and Lindisfarne was sacked by King Malcolm of Scotland in AD 1061 in an event which violated the peace of St Cuthbert, all of which suggest some continuing ecclesiastical presence at the site (HR sa.1061).

Despite its prominent role in the history of the Scandinavian invaders, Lindisfarne has produced little evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence. The evidence from the site consists of three pieces of sculpture and a cast copper alloy terminal head. Sculptural evidence consists of a tenth century base of a shaft, another base of a shaft from the second half of the tenth century and a late ninth century round headed grave marker (Cramp 1977,197,198,206,207). The grave marker would seem to depict a raid and it would be easy to associate this with the raid of AD 793. However, there are no clear indications which raid was being depicted, with Scottish raids or biblical scenes being possibilities. The tenth century cross-shaft bears similarities with Anglo-Scandinavian crosses from Gainford and Chester-le-Street (Cramp 1977, 197). During the eighth to eleventh

centuries, both Chester-le-Street and Gainford continued to produce sculpture, including pieces with clear Anglo-Scandinavian influence, despite the decline in sculpture production at other monastic sites. Equally, both sites were very important with Gainford being a key crossing point of the River Tees and having its own monastic history whilst Chester-le-Street was the main residence of the Community for most of the tenth century.

The sculpture from Lindisfarne dates from the tenth century whilst that from Gainford and Chester-le-Street dates from the end of the ninth century and the first half of the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 53,54,82,83&197), meaning it is possible, that despite the similarities between these pieces, there may have been up to a century between their production. The conclusion this may suggest is that monastic links were not responsible for the creation of the piece and that a Anglo-Scandinavian elite could have been responsible. Alternatively, the chronologies may be more similar and the pieces could have been the result of monastic links suggesting that the Anglo-Scandinavians had little impact on this communication network.

The final piece, the base of a shaft, from the second half of the tenth century has clear links to Anglo-Scandinavian carvings given the portrayal of "short-skirted stumpy figures" (Cramp 1977, 197&198), which was a common feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art (Cramp 1977, 197&198). A piece from Norham from the second quarter of the ninth century, possibly displaying the Annunciation, may have provided the inspiration for the scene on the Lindisfarne carving (Cramp 1977, 197&198). Norham was once the main residence of the Community and the links between the sculpture from there and Lindisfarne again hints at the lack of disruption caused by the Anglo-Scandinavians.

Anglo-Scandinavians recognised the importance and benefits of associating with Community sites, as shown by the high number of Anglo-Scandinavian carvings found at Community sites.

The archaeological record is sparse consisting of only a cast copper alloy animal head terminal. It is not clear whether the piece, which dates from between the ninth and eleventh centuries, is Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian (The British Museum, n.d.). The animal represented on the artefact may be a bear, a dog or a wolf (The British Museum, n.d.). These three animals had a history of usage in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian societies and both pagan and Christian iconographies (Yorke 2014, 106).

The strength and power of these animals gave them obvious links to warriors (Yorke 2014, 106), though they could be used in more subtle ways. One possibility, though speculative, is that this piece belonged to a Scandinavian. The bear was a recognisable medieval symbol of the process of conversion from paganism to Christianity and the Church's role in this conversion (Stocker 2000). Should the piece represent a bear, it could suggest a recently converted individual. The Anglo-Scandinavian carving of such an important scene as the Annunciation, where a great revelation was made, may be linked to this piece, as it may have been made in relation to the revelation of the Christian message that the new convert had received. This of course is speculation and the meaning of the animal head terminal remains unknown.

Barring the raids of AD 793 and AD 941 and any that may have occurred between this period, there is little evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian impact on Lindisfarne, with landholding and monastic links remaining intact. The animal

head terminal which could be linked to the process of conversion, sculpture which may depict religious scenes in Anglo-Scandinavian styles, and the occurrence of such pieces at the key sites of the Community of St Cuthbert suggests a possible engagement between the Scandinavians and the Community and the forming of an Anglo-Scandinavian identity.

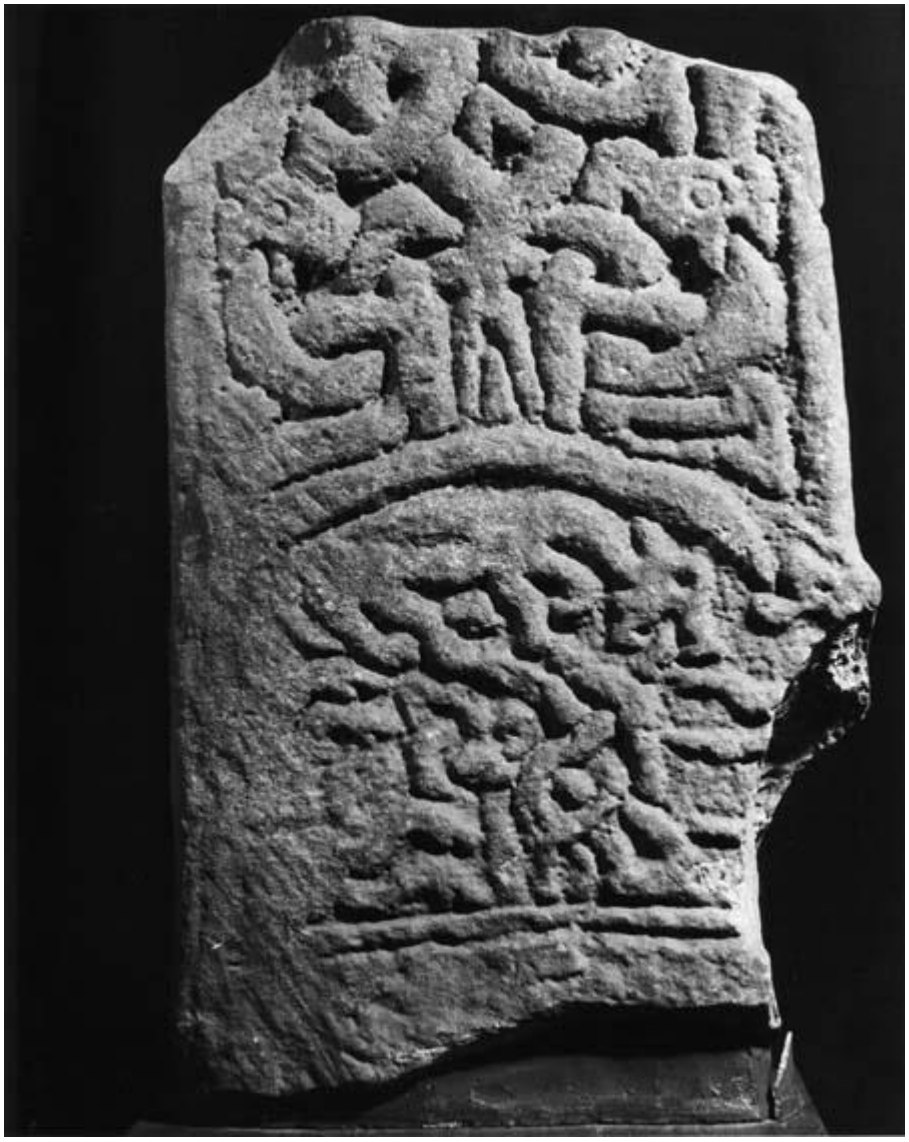

Figure 82 – *Part of a tenth century base of shaft from Lindisfarne – Face A (Broad).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 192, no.1063) (Reproduced with permission). Anglo-Scandinavian influence can be seen through the interlinking of the human figures and the animal head interlace, with similar motifs depicted on Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from elsewhere in the region (Cramp 1977, 197).

Figure 83 – *Part of a tenth century base of a shaft from Lindisfarne – Face D (Narrow).* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 192, no.1066) (Reproduced with permission). The unpinned loop pattern seen here can be found on Anglo-Scandinavian crosses from throughout the region (Cramp 1977, 197).

Figure 84 – *Base of a shaft from the second half of the tenth century from Lindisfarne.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 191, no.1061) (Reproduced with permission). The short skirted stumpy figures seem to be a feature of Anglo-Scandinavian art and can be found on other carvings from the region (Cramp 1977, 197&198). It may be that this piece is a later copy of an earlier carving, possibly Norham 04 (Cramp 1977, 197&198).

Figure 85 – *Part of a round-headed grave marker from the end of the ninth century from Lindisfarne.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 201, no.1133) (Reproduced with permission). The motif depicted on this piece may be the Scandinavian raid of AD 793, though it could equally depict a Scottish raid or a biblical scene (Cramp 1977, 206&207).

Figure 86 – *Ninth to eleventh century Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian cast copper alloy animal head terminal from Lindisfarne.* (The British Museum 2007).

7.2.06 Norham

The monastery at Norham was founded following a grant of land made by King Oswy in AD 655 following his victory over Penda of Mercia (Brown 2003, 20). Later in the first half of the ninth century, St Cuthbert's body and also the See of St Cuthbert were moved to Norham (Johnson-South 2001, 84). An eleventh century burial list of English Saints and William of Malmesbury stated that St Cuthbert lay at a place called *Ubbanford* , which Symeon mentioned was the ancient name for Norham (Johnson-South 2001, 84).

As well as St Cuthbert, the remains of Ceolwulf, the King of Northumbria who renounced his power in order to become a monk, were also 'translated' to Norham and a church was later built and was partly dedicated to Ceolwulf (HR sa.854 & Libellus Book II Chapter 5). Following the Community's move to Chester-le-Street, Norham remained a functioning monastery, as Tilred of Heversham, donated half the land that he had purchased in South Eden so that he might become abbot of Norham (Aird 1998, 38). Norham's strategic location as a fording point of the Tweed and its naturally defensible location (Aird 1998, 258) might suggest that it could have been the target of incoming invaders looking to influence events in the region, as would its association with the Community of St Cuthbert, given the numerous benefits that the Anglo-Scandinavians could gain from associating themselves with churches.

Norham's sculptural evidence is an incomplete cross-shaft from the second half of the tenth century (Cramp 1977, 209). It seems to display some sort of animal or beast (Cramp 1977, 209). The carving is cruder than the rest of the sculpture from the site displaying Anglo-Scandinavian and Hiberno-Saxon influenced ornamentation (Cramp 1977, 209).

Norhamshire and nearby Islandshire do not seem to have suffered from the incoming Scandinavians as they were recorded in the *Boldon Book* as having retained all their dependencies (BB 1982, 35).

Figure 87 – *Incomplete cross-shaft from the last half of the tenth century from Norham.* (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass) (Cramp 1977 Plate 205, no.1167) (Reproduced with permission). The form and style of the animals on this piece may suggest Anglo-Scandinavian influence as they bear similarities to the depictions of animals on other Anglo-Scandinavian carvings (Cramp 1977, 205).

7.2.07 Dunbar

Dunbar was associated with the lands of the monastery at Tyninghame, possibly being the centre of a composite estate that stretched from Lammermuir to Eskmouth, an area that was previously focused on Traprain but moved to Dunbar because its location on the coastal road between England and Scotland and its port made it more suitable for facilitating trade (Perry 2000, 7). This area is rather large for a *'shire'* and Dunbarshire may have enclosed a smaller geographical area (Perry 2000, 7). Kenneth MacAlpin, after his victory over the Picts in AD 843, seized both Dunbar and Melrose, and put them to the torch (Perry 2000, 7). Æthelstan was present at Dunbar during his invasion of Scotland in AD 934 (Perry 2000, 7).

Shortly after Æthelstan's visit, the Community seems to have lost control of Lothian and the area was described as being in Scottish hands by the mid to late tenth century (Perry 2000, 8). Acknowledgement of this loss seems to have been confirmed when the Bishops of Durham protected their interests in Teviotdale from the Diocese of Glasgow, suggesting that they had accepted that their former lands north of the Tweed were now the possession of the Bishop of St Andrews (Perry 2000, 8). The question of ownership of these lands arose once again in AD 1006 following Malcolm II's defeat at the siege of Durham but his subsequent defeat of the Earl of Northumbria at Carham in AD 1018 secured these lands for the Scottish crown (Perry 2000, 8). Dunbarshire seems to have survived the turmoil of these events and was given to Cospatric, the former Earl of Northumbria, by Malcolm III (Perry 2000, 9).

Dunbar's evidence consists of an antler comb dating from between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Similar combs have been found at North Berwick,

East Lothian and on recent excavations at Lindisfarne. The comb from Dunbar is of a high quality and is in a good state of preservation and is classified as a type five comb (Ashby 2009). These combs are often found in the Orkney Islands and the Shetlands Islands, areas of known Scandinavian presence (Ashby 2009). Intriguingly, nearly half the examples from Scotland, seven out of the eighteen, were grave goods (Ashby 2009). Type five combs suggest links with northern Europe whilst the two from East Lothian may suggest links to Scandinavians in Northumbria (Ashby 2009).

There is little to suggest that this piece formed part of a burial, though it does seem to suggest an individual or individuals of high status who were Scandinavian or of Scandinavian origin and who had trade links, especially with Scandinavia. This interpretation would be consistent with other evidence from the area, discussed later which suggests a high status northern European trade network (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 105) which included Dunbar (Moloney 2001). Possible links to Scandinavians in Northumbria may suggest this trade network extended to Bamburgh and Lindisfarne since they have produced high status imports, a walrus tusk and a type five comb respectively. Both these sites were on the coast and were important religious, secular and political sites, adding to this interpretation.

Though Dunbar may have been part of a northern European luxury trade network, with an elite who had strong links to Scandinavia, little suggests an Anglo-Scandinavian impact on the area. Given the evidence for mercantile activity, the lack of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture is puzzling. If the trade network did include Bamburgh and Lindisfarne, this would still only leave three pieces for the whole area. There does not seem to be the sculptural evidence for

mercantile competition that has been found elsewhere (Stocker 2000). There is no lack of monasteries in this area and it may be that the merchants for some reason decided not to use sculpture to show their patronage of ecclesiastical sites. The quantity and association of Anglo-Scandinavian material is less common at ecclesiastical sites in this area than in regions further south.

Figure 88 –*Drawing of the ninth to eleventh century Scandinavian style comb from Dunbar, East Lothian.* (Monro and SUAT, n.d.). Combs such as this have been found elsewhere in Scotland and are generally suggestive of links to Scandinavia (Ashby 2009). This comb however, may suggest links with the Scandinavians of Northumbria (Ashby 2009). The comb from Dunbar and other similar ones from Scotland are classified as type five combs (Ashby 2009).

7.2.08 Tyninghame, East Lothian

Tyninghame was an Anglo-Saxon monastery founded by Saint Balthere, who died in AD 756 (Woolf 2007, 235). The site was sacked along with Lindisfarne and Auldhame by Olaf Guthfrithson, king of York in AD 941 and the Community seems to have lost possession of Tyninghamshire (Aird 1998, 245). Despite the attack, Tyninghame seems to have retained its importance being described in both the *HSC* and the *Historia Regum.* It is not clear which period the *HSC* is referring to when mentioning Tyninghame's importance since the text which was compiled between AD 944 and AD 946, only survives in an updated version from the 1020s (Woolf 2007, 235). The extent of the lands associated with Tyninghame is also unclear. The *HSC* described Tyninghamshire as a much smaller geographical area in terms of western and northern boundaries and also did not record possessions such as Edinburgh (Woolf 2007, 235).

By the 1020s it would seem that Tyninghame was under Northumbrian control. Symeon recorded how a priest named Ælfred was instructed to visit all the ancient monasteries and churches to collect their relics and bring them back to Durham (Woolf 2007, 235). Saint Balthere's relics were among those collected and the others collected show that all the relics were collected from a well-defined area, namely the Kingdom of Northumbria (Woolf 2007, 235). The earls of northern Northumbria now ruled over Tyninghamshire since the text *De obsessione Dunelmi* recorded that Lothian was ceded to the Scottish by Earl Eardulf Cuttlefish, Earl of Northumbria during the earlier part of Cnut's reign (Woolf 2007, 235).

Later, the Community came close to reclaiming these lost lands when Duncan, the brother of King Edgar of Scotland, purportedly issued a charter

granting the Tyninghame lands to the Community around AD 1100 (Craster 1954). The charter's authenticity can be questioned (Craster 1954), as can Duncan's right to grant such lands and the King passed away, voiding the grant and leaving the Community with no chance to take advantage of Duncan's generosity (Aird 1998, 246). The extent of influence exercised over these areas by the Community is unclear with either an administrative influence stemming from the central house at Lindisfarne or a more direct influence in which the Community purchased these lands outright, probably following Scandinavian raids in the ninth century (Johnson-South 2001, 75).

The evidence from Tyninghame consists of a hogback (Historic Environment Scotland 2015). Though hogbacks are not Scandinavian monuments, Tyninghame's hogback may depict scenes from Scandinavian mythology. It is English in character with Scottish zoomorphic style (Lang 1972-74). Both sides of the hogback are illustrated with one side showing two animals confronting each other and each using its front paw to claim ownership of a disc that lies between them (Lang 1972-74). The other side shows a similar scene though this time there is only one animal. (Lang 1972-74), leading some to suggest that elements of Ragnarök, the ending and rebirth of the world in Scandinavian mythology, are being portrayed (Lang 1972-74). The Ragnarök scene of wolves consuming both sun and moon, would draw comparisons with other carvings from the study area, namely the hogback from Sockburn which may portray a similar scene (Lang 1972-74).

Three things are potentially strange about this piece. Firstly is the production of a piece which may clearly display scenes from Scandinavian mythology at a Christian monastic site. Secondly, if the piece does show pagan

iconography, it was created very late in the conversion process, in the late tenth century. Finally, the production of this piece was only a few decades after Olaf Guthfrithson sacked the site.

Even though the process of conversion was not a simple abandonment of one set of beliefs and adoption of another, this piece stands out as remarkably late in the process. Olaf Guthfrithson's burial at Auldhame has been suggested as an act of post-mortem penance and this piece may have a similar function. However, the iconography depicted would make no sense in this context, the sacking occurred decades before this piece was created and it is highly unlikely that a raiding party would have had the resources or time to create such a piece.

More plausibly, this piece could have been created under the influence of a new incomer from Scandinavia, possibly a merchant. Hogbacks were known to have been created elsewhere by merchants competing with each other (Stocker 2000). Tyninghame was located between Dunbar and North Berwick, both of which may have been involved in a larger northern European luxury trade network, so mercantile presence is possible. This would explain the iconography of the piece since Scandinavia was converted to Christianity much later than Scandinavians in Britain were (Sawyer and Sawyer 2003), hence the pagan iconography so late in the conversion process. Scandinavian merchants were also known to have flexible religious identities (Abrams 2000). The presence of Anglo-Scandinavians who may or may not have been Christianised and decided to request a monument related to their cultural and religious heritage is a possibility.

Also possible is the presence of Anglo-Scandinavians in the area who had not been Christianised and the hogback was an attempt to draw parallels between Christianity and Scandinavian mythology, to smooth the process of conversion. This technique is seen on a hogback from Sockburn. Either option suggests some Anglo-Scandinavian presence, possibly a permanent presence. It would seem unlikely that Anglo-Scandinavians in the area would produce such a piece for no clear reason then leave. Finally, it would seem strange for a Christian site such as Tyninghame to produce this piece without any external Scandinavian influence. All the options suggest some form of Anglo-Scandinavian presence.

The lack of similar monuments and known sculpture in S.E. Scotland poses problems for interpretation, especially in applying a theory such as Stocker's.

Little suggests that Tyninghame was significantly impacted by Anglo-Scandinavian activity. The hogback does not indicate any significant activity and Tyninghame seems to have survived Olaf Guthfrithson's raid, though this event did seem to cause the loss of Tyninghame for the Community though they would later recover it.

Figure 89 –*Both sides of the Tyninghame hogback , with tentative reconstructions.* (Stevenson 1958/1959 Figure 5). This piece may depict scenes from Scandinavian mythology (Lang 1972-74). The appearance of this piece at Tyninghame, towards the end of the tenth century, only a few decades after a Scandinavian raid on the site is puzzling. This piece may depict a similar scene to Sockburn 21 (Lang 1972-74), which has been shown earlier. Sockburn 21, also a hogback, seems to be a similar piece, which attempts to draw parallels between Christianity and paganism in order to ease the process of conversion (Cramp 1977, 143&144).

7.2.09 Auldhame, East Lothian

Auldhame was an Anglo-Saxon monastery founded in the seventh century and may have been associated with Saint Balthere who founded Tyninghame (Crone, Hindmarch & Woolf 2016, 170). Between the mid-seventh and mid-ninth centuries Auldhame flourished before declining towards the close of the ninth century possibly due to Scandinavian coastal activity (Crone, Hindmarch & Woolf 2016, 170). Olaf Guthfrithson's raid in AD 941, which may have been to re-establish control over the region, was damaging but not fatal and Auldhame continued as a church and graveyard (Crone, Hindmarch & Woolf 2016, 171). The evidence from Auldhame is the only Anglo-Scandinavian burial from the study region. The burial has been suggested as being that of Olaf Guthfrithson, King of York and Dublin who died shortly after attacking East Lothian.

The burial at Auldhame has been suggested as an act of post-mortem penance given that historical sources mention that Olaf Guthfrithson's death was brought about by Saint Balthere (Symonds 2014). If the burial is not that of Olaf Guthfrithson, then it may be a member of his retinue (Crone, Hindmarch & Woolf 2016, 142). The evidence from the burial may suggest that the individual buried spent time in the service of both the Kings of Dublin and York (McLeod 2015). The grave goods have links to Cumbria, the Isle of Man and the Irish Sea region (McLeod 2015). However, as little is known about where Guthfrithson was born and raised, it is uncertain whether isotopic analysis will help provide conclusive evidence of whether this was Olaf Guthfrithson (Crone, Hindmarch & Woolf 2016, 142). A number of other burials from Auldhame date from a similar period but whether these actually represent Scandinavians is unclear (Crone, Hindmarch & Woolf 2016, 142).

Some have argued that while some of the items with the burial signify high status, they are most likely not of sufficient status to denote a king of both Dublin and York (McLeod 2015). A similar problem in identifying the burial as that of a king would be the lack of any grave marker such as a hogback or other similar memorial (McLeod 2015). Little suggests hogbacks were a Scandinavian monument and it would be highly unlikely that any raiding party would have been able to commission and erect one.

Finally, the age of the individual buried, twenty six to thirty five years old is unlikely to correspond with Guthfrithson who was king for seven years before his death (McLeod 2015). Though the king interpretation of the burial seems unlikely, it is possible that the burial belonged to a member of Olaf Guthfrithson's retinue (McLeod 2015). The burial then would seem to have belonged to a Scandinavian, though the exact nature of his identity is not clear. Given the lack of Anglo-Scandinavian burials, let alone those of a similar status, the identity of the individual will probably remain unclear.

The interpretation of the burial as a sort of post-mortem penance would be a strong possibility for why an individual was buried at a site they had just sacked, especially since historical sources say Saint Balthere caused Guthfrithson's death. This would suggest a flexible Anglo-Scandinavian identity based on the circumstances of the time. There is no evidence to suggest, that after sacking Auldhame, Olaf Guthfrithson was repentant. However his possible burial there or that of one of his followers suggests that they were aware of the existing practices of the culture and quickly adopted them if they were thought to be beneficial. The same conclusion could also be drawn if it was known that Olaf Guthfrithson was repentant. This indicates a clear distinction, development and

adaptation of identity based on the circumstances of the time and that the interactions between Scandinavians and the culture they encountered were flexible, dynamic and dependent on the situation.

7.2.10 St Andrew's church, North Berwick

North Berwick's location was ideal for maritime communication (Hall and Bowler 1997) as well as offering strategic and defendable positions in the area (Hall and Bowler 1997). Thirteenth century documentary sources mentioned trade links between North Berwick and Continental Europe, and North Berwick was later declared a *'burgh'* (Hall and Bowler 1997). North Berwick also played a vital role in pilgrimages to the shrine of St Andrew (Hall and Bowler 1997), serving as the port from which pilgrims would travel to Earlsferry in Fife, before travelling to the shrine (Hall and Bowler 1997). This route was much quicker and easier than travelling to the shrine by the land route and seems to have been in existence in the eighth century (Hall and Bowler 1997). Later links with the Continent may suggest that pilgrims from mainland Europe travelled to North Berwick on pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Andrew (Hall and Bowler 1997).North Berwick was also linked with Whitekirk, a site which lay on the pilgrim route which ran from Durham, past many of the border abbeys and into Scotland (Penman 2012).

Currently, there is no evidence for any Anglo-Scandinavian involvement in the pilgrim activities; though there is evidence that suggests trade, namely a type five comb. Parallels with similar combs from Scandinavia suggest a date of between AD 850 and AD 950 (Ashby 2011). North Berwick's comb is of a lower

quality and in a worse state of preservation than Dunbar's, having been found with all its teeth broken. There is nothing to suggest that this comb formed part of a burial as other type five combs were known to have (Ashby 2009). The human remains that it was found with are later and it may have been that the comb was from another part of the town, which was moved before being deposited in the location where it was found (Hall and Bowler 1997).

Though type five combs are associated with the original Scandinavian settlers of the ninth century and may have had a special function and meaning since they were quite commonly used as grave goods (Ashby 2009), this association is usually made in relation to the finding of these combs in Atlantic Scotland and not Lothian (Ashby 2009) and nothing suggests any such early settlement in Lothian. Though not of as high a quality as others, this comb still adds to the possibility of a northern European luxury item trade network which included North Berwick. The later importance of the site for pilgrimage and trade and the later links to the Continent, adds to this conclusion. Like much of the rest of the region there seems to have been little overall Anglo-Scandinavian impact.

7.2.11 Gogarburn, Edinburgh

Gogarburn was not mentioned in any historical sources though Edinburgh was recorded by Symeon as one of the sites belonging to the bishopric of Lindisfarne in the mid-ninth century (HR sa.854), though there is no archaeological evidence for the Community's presence (Gifford et al 1991, 31).

In 1811 a Finnish-type ring-headed brooch was found at Gogarburn, unusually in conjunction with a hoard from the eighth century BC (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 235). Similar to other artefacts from this area, this brooch suggests a high status individual with trade links to the Continent and in particular Scandinavia. Such brooches were extremely popular in eastern Europe and Finland but were very rare in western Europe, with no parallels in Scotland (The National Museum of Scotland, n.d.), suggesting an individual with a knowledge and taste for such Scandinavian jewellery and with access to considerable resources given the value of this piece and what it would have taken to acquire it.

The brooch dates from the mid-ninth to late tenth century (The National Museum of Scotland, n.d.) and may have formed part of a burial (The National Museum of Scotland, n.d.). Given the importance and value of this piece it would be unlikely to have been a casual loss which may suggest that it formed part of a burial. A number of other artefacts in this area may have been associated with burials though the association is not clear. Alternatively, given that brooches formed part of the alternative Scandinavian bullion economy (Kershaw 2017) it could be that the brooch was a trade item.

Unfortunately, like many of the other items, there is a lack of contextual information for this piece, which limits the understanding of why this valuable piece was deposited at a seemingly unimportant site such as Gogarburn. The brooch does seem to suggest the presence of a high status individual or individuals, probably Scandinavian or of Scandinavian origin, with trade links to Scandinavia. Gogarburn and the surrounding area seem to have been little disrupted by any Anglo-Scandinavian activity as indicated by the stability of the

Community of St Cuthbert's lands in this area. The presence of the brooch and the lack of changes in land ownership add to the idea that there was a northern European luxury item trade network, which included Gogarburn.

Figure 90 – *Small bronze penannular brooch from Gogarburn, Midlothian, dating from between AD 850 and AD 975*.(National Museums Scotland n.d.). Brooches such as these were popular in Scandinavia and eastern Europe but were rare in western Europe, especially Scotland (National Museums Scotland n.d.). Fortunately, this piece has survived unlike the Scandinavian neck ring found at Braidwood Fort Midlothian, which was sold to a jeweller (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 101). There are no drawings or photographs of the neck ring from Braidwood Fort.

7.3 Inland Cluster

With the exception of a few archaeological finds, place-names dominate the area of the Central Lowlands relevant to this study. This cluster of evidence runs from Roxburghshire to West Lothian.

7.3.01 Braidwood Fort

Braidwood Fort lay outside the lands of the Community of St Cuthbert. The artefact which is now lost was an annular gold neck ring found towards the end of the eighteenth century at Braidwood Fort, Midlothian (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 235). Rings, whether for neck, finger or arm were the most popular form of personal ornamentation in Scandinavia between the eighth and eleventh centuries (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 234).

The ring found at Braidwood Fort was far from common in Scotland and Scandinavia (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 235), furthering the idea, based on the other evidence from the area, that there was a small, elite, possibly mercantile, Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the region. From the rest of Scotland, only Late Norse finger rings have been recovered with the exceptions of two arm rings from Oxna in the Shetlands and the seabed of the Sound of Jute (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 235). During the nineteenth century, another two arm rings were reportedly recovered from the Broch of Burgar in Orkney but these are now lost (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 235). This piece stands out as it is the only neck ring from Scotland and unlike other rings; it was not found in an area of attested Scandinavian settlement.

Furthermore, the fact that it was made of gold and was extremely rare both in Scotland and Scandinavia may suggest that it was not a casual loss since the owner of such a valuable piece would not leave the area until they recovered it (Graham-Campbell 2004). Whether or not this means that there was more of a permanent presence is possible but not certain. It has been suggested that this large and extremely high status artefact belonged to a member of Ivar's raiding party who may have used Braidwood Fort as a temporary camp during their plundering excursions into the Central Lowlands in AD 903 and AD 904 (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 101). The owner of the piece may have perished whilst raiding, with other members of the war band being unaware of its deposition and location. Alternatively, it may be associated with Ragnall's later activity in the area (Graham-Campbell 2008). Further information about the context would provide a better understanding of this piece. Unfortunately, due to the circumstances in which it was recovered and that it is now lost, it is unlikely that such information will ever be known. The ring does suggest an individual or individuals of high status, probably Scandinavian or of Scandinavian origin, given their far reaching trade links, especially with Scandinavia and their taste for elite Scandinavian personal ornamentation.

7.3.02 Gordon

A charter of AD 1171 recorded how the monks of Coldingham exchanged the church at Gordon with the monks of Kelso for the church at Ersildun (Robson 1893, 85). Evidence from Gordon is a hoard consisting of four pieces of silver and a gold ring (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 231). The finger ring may be the most clearly Scandinavian artefact from among the hoard due to its striking resemblance to a Hiberno-Norse finger ring found in Fife (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 235&236). Hiberno-Norse rings have been found in Norway and there are a number of other hoards from Scotland which seem to be Hiberno-Norse so it is certainly possible that there were Irish-Scandinavian links in Scotland (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 236). The other items in the hoard were two silver ingots and two pieces of hack silver (Graham-Campbell 1998, 231).

Though not having the instantly recognisable cultural features that link the ring to the Hiberno-Norse world, these pieces of silver are suggestive of Scandinavian presence; possibly forming part of the alternative Scandinavian economy mentioned earlier (Kershaw 2017). The pieces of silver in this hoard, being in the form of ingots and hack silver, are prime examples of the alternative currency used in this Scandinavian economy (Kershaw 2017).

Trade sites in both Sweden and Norway have produced similar pieces of hack silver (Kershaw 2017) and other similar hoards from Northumbria suggest that this alternative economy existed outside the Danelaw. The absence of coins may add further credence to the suggestion of this hoard representing some form of Scandinavian activity. The chronicler Matthew Paris recorded a Scandinavian attack on the monastery at Coldingham, Berwickshire in AD 870 so it is possible

that there were Anglo-Scandinavians in the area (Goring 2008, 16&17). Unfortunately, like the neck ring from Braidwood Fort, this hoard has been lost (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 235) and with it, any context and further understanding. Despite this, it seems safe to say that there was no clear Anglo-Scandinavian impact on the area.

Figure 91 –*Gold ring and silver ornaments found at Gordon, Berwickshire.*(Stobbs 1885 Plate II). As well as the finger ring being similar in style to other Scandinavian rings from Scotland (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 235&236), the presence of pieces of silver are suggestive of Scandinavian activity since they may have been part of an alternative Scandinavian economy (Kershaw 2017).

7.3.03 Scandinavian place-names of the Central Lowlands

The Scandinavian place-names of the Central Lowlands have long been discussed by scholars, with work focusing on when these place-names were formed, whether by Anglo-Scandinavians in the eighth to eleventh centuries or whether by Anglo-Scandinavians in the service of a later Scottish king. The relevant place-names in this area almost all contain Old Norse personal names. A number also contain the *'bie'* element, the Scottish equivalent of *'bý'*.

One suggestion which may provide a better understanding of the situation in this area is that the Scandinavian place-names represent the settlement of mercenaries. The use of Scandinavian mercenaries was not uncommon in Britain between the eighth and eleventh centuries. King Edgar was criticised for his desire for foreign and heathen customs, which attracted those who practised such customs to England (Redgate 2014, 73). This has been interpreted as indicating that Edgar had a preference for and habit of welcoming Scandinavian mercenaries and merchants (Redgate 2014, 73).

Churches elsewhere had been protected by mercenaries and soldiers. Whithorn and Kirkcudbright may have been protected by Scandinavian mercenaries employed by the Community of St Cuthbert (McLeod 2015) (Hill 1991). The mercenaries seem to have been rewarded for their service by being granted land in and around the areas they protected (McLeod 2015). Ecclesiastical settlements in this area seem to have been particularly vulnerable. Lindisfarne may have been attacked a number of times in the 850s, Melrose was raided possibly in AD 858 and Olaf Guthfrithson sacked Auldhame, Tyninghame and

Lindisfarne in AD 941. Scottish raids were a constant threat and the Community's ecclesiastical status seems to have offered little protection.

The presence of mercenaries would offer an explanation for the archaeological finds in this area. A luxury item trade network may have covered south eastern Scotland among other areas, with Scandinavian mercenaries being suitable customers for such imported goods. It would seem strange for these items to appear in isolation in a large area devoid of place-names, if it was as suggested, that the place-names were the result of Scandinavian settlement instigated by later Scottish kings. The chronologies of the artefacts are more favourable to ninth or tenth century mercenary settlement than later settlement.

The Central Lowlands were one of the few good areas for farming in Scotland and would have appealed to settlers (Webster 2000). Furthermore, the settlement seems to have occurred roughly on the western limits of the Community of St Cuthbert's properties in this area, which seem to have formed a similar cluster running from Abercorn to Jedburgh, allowing the Community to control the mercenaries at a safe distance from the main areas of their operations. The evidence then seems to indicate that the settlement of hired Scandinavian mercenaries in the Central Lowlands by the Community of St Cuthbert in the ninth but more likely the tenth century is a strong possibility.

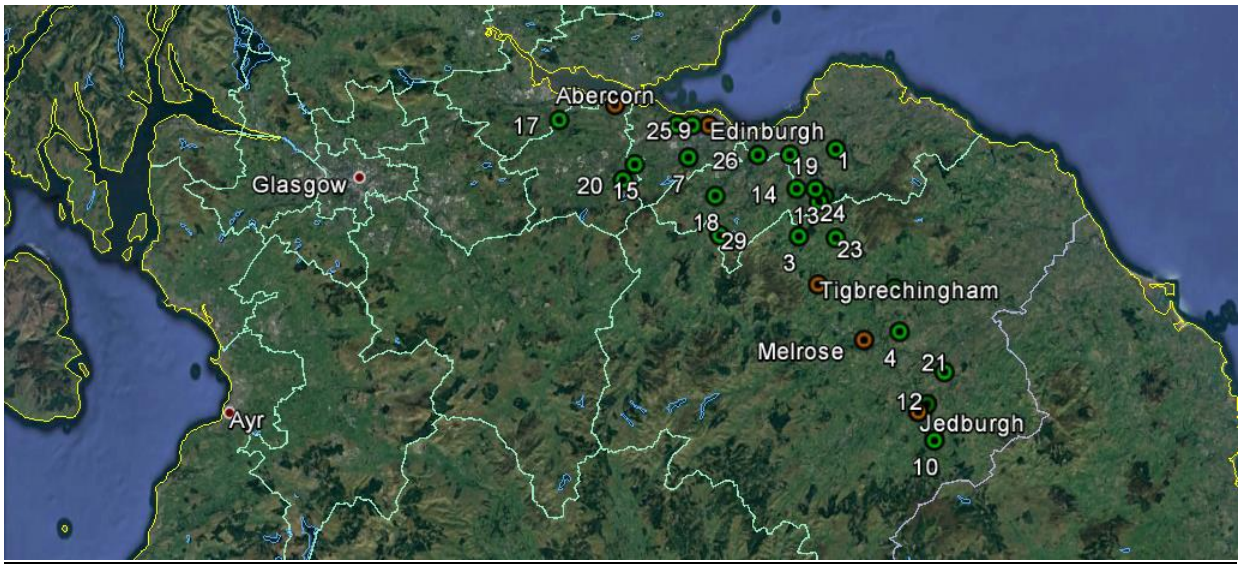

Figure 92 – *The Community of St Cuthbert's properties in the Central Lowlands in relation to the Scandinavian place-names of the Central Lowlands.* The place-names are represented by the green markers whilst the Community of St Cuthbert's properties are represented by the brown markers. Tigbrechingham's location is based on Woolf's identification of it with modern day Stow-in-Wedale in the Scottish Borders (Woolf 2007, 235).

7.4 Other Areas

7.4.01 Schatteby, Berwickshire

Schatteby was not plotted since the location of this site is no longer known. Schatteby derives from the Old Norse personal name '*Skati'* or the noun '*skata'* which means to skate (Nicolaisen 1976, 114) and the Old Norse suffix '*bý'* meaning farmstead or settlement (Nicolaisen 1976, 114). The use of the *'bý'* element, as discussed earlier, is a strong indicator of Anglo-Scandinavian activity.

7.5 Regional Conclusion

Northern Northumberland and S.E. Scotland seem to have been largely unaffected by Anglo-Scandinavian activity with few changes to the political, religious or cultural landscape. The area lacks the place-names and quantity of sculpture to suggest any significant settlement. The evidence from the Central Lowlands would be the only evidence for any real settlement and this may have been carried out in a controlled manner by both Anglo-Scandinavians and the Community of St Cuthbert. Following on from an initial period of raids, which damaged and in some cases caused monasteries to cease functioning, there was a more stable period, in which mutually beneficial relationships between Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons may have developed. Both the archaeological record and historical sources attest to Scandinavian presence throughout the region. The evidence seems to indicate high status Scandinavian elites in the area, a possibility which has been suggested by others (Rollason 2003, 244).

Much of the evidence from the area, especially the pieces of jewellery and items of personal adornment clearly indicate high status and the presence of elites,

given their rarity and the resources needed to acquire such pieces. Most artefacts were also imported or were associated with trade activities, such as the lead weights, which suggests trade links if not a mercantile presence. That S.E. Scotland formed part of a larger northern European luxury trade network is a strong possibility.

The lack of Scandinavian place-names and documented land ownership changes, and the location of many sites close to the coast or at important trading centres such as Dunbar, adds further credence to the suggestion of mercantile activity. This would also go some way to explaining the appearance of Scandinavian influenced sculpture, as studies from elsewhere have shown that Scandinavian merchants founded churches or were active patrons of churches (Stocker 2000). Whilst the patronage of churches and adoption of Christianity shows elements of integration, it seems that attempts may have been made to retain elements of Scandinavian culture. Most obvious would be carvings showing Scandinavian cultural or mythological scenes, though hack silver hoards and lead weights which formed part of an alternative Scandinavian economy, high status jewellery popular in Scandinavia and post-Conquest place-names containing the '*býr*' element all suggest elements of Anglo-Scandinavian activity.

This community seems to have had a limited impact on the host society as evidenced by the lack of land taking, Scandinavian place-names and sculpture compared to areas further south. One possibility, though speculative, is that these individuals, perhaps along with certain Anglo-Saxons, controlled the area on behalf of a ruler. Ragnall is known to have given land to Anglo-Saxons and there are other examples of this practice. It is certainly possible that nothing really changed on the ground apart from the ruler to whom taxes were owed.

In Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, there was a long history of administrative and political hierarchies in which there were various roles, all with the aim of helping to run the kingdom. Texts of this period also refer to hierarchies of settlement and it may well be that these were run on behalf of the king (Rollason 2003, 173&174). Given the short and interrupted nature of the rules of the Anglo-Scandinavian kings, it is highly unlikely that they would have been able to institute a new form of government and that their best opportunity for success would have been to utilise the existing system (Rollason 2003, 230). Furthermore, it would seem likely that the Anglo-Scandinavians would have used this system given that they were often away from the region. In AD 867 the leaders of the Great Army appointed Ecgbert to rule on their behalf before they made their way further south (Woolf 2007, 73). Halfdan, though King of Northumbria, would be killed fighting in Ireland (Downham 2007, 24). Later in AD 910 the joint rulers of Northumbria, Hálfdan and Eowils, would raid Mercia (Woolf 2007, 139). Olaf Guthfrithson would plunder the midlands during his reign (Stenton 2004, 357).

Overlordship would perhaps explain why there is limited evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence at important sites in the area. Individuals, whether Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian, may have controlled the area on behalf of the Anglo-Scandinavian ruler, with little changing on the ground. Ragnall's grants of land to Scula and Onlafbal (HSC 23) are perhaps suggestive of overlordship and it may have been that Olaf Guthfrithson's raids on Lindisfarne, Tyninghame and Auldhame, all sites in the furthest northern reaches of Northumbria were meant to act as a reminder to those in this area that he was their king.

The individuals involved may have been associated with the Great Army or other later forces and their descendants, who were moving throughout the area

trading or who gradually moved northwards from Yorkshire and settled in the lands further north in what seems to be very small numbers. Scandinavian settlement in Northumbria began to occur during Halfdan's reign (McLeod 2014, 164) and it has been suggested that Halfdan left for Ireland with few followers as many of his followers were tired of war and wanted to stay in Northumbria (Smyth 1977, 260). The number of settlers may have further decreased since the *ASC* entry for AD 896 recorded that the Danes in Northumbria who had no money got ships and went to the Seine (ASC sa.896). This may be one of the reasons why sculptural styles popular in southern Northumbria appeared in northern Northumbria. Individuals may have plied two trades as seen by the individual buried in Egge in Norway who seems to have been both a trader and a warrior (Hall 2016). This dual role was not limited to Norway but could be seen in England where men were raiders, soldiers or traders depending on the situation (Jayakumar 2001).

The Community of St Cuthbert may have employed Scandinavian mercenaries to protect vulnerable sites (McLeod 2015) and it has been suggested that King Edgar in the 960s and 970s used Scandinavian mercenaries to protect strategic places and that Scandinavian merchants were present in present in many of the same areas (Keynes 2008). Historical sources make clear that Scandinavian merchants were present in England in the tenth century (Jayakumar 2001). Further excavation in northern Northumberland and S.E. Scotland may reveal more about these potential trade links.

The Community of St Cuthbert also played a prominent role in the administration of the kingdom. There was a history in Northumbria of the church playing a prominent role in the politics of the day, such as Eanbald II, archbishop

of York's decision to protect the king's enemies and to seize the lands of others or the Bishop of Lindisfarne's incarceration by King Eadberht as he seems to have given sanctuary of one of the king's foes, Offa, son of King Aldfrith (Rollason 2003, 195). This practice seems to have continued largely unchanged into the ninth century.

Some of the earlier prominent Anglo-Saxon monasteries began to decline during the eighth and ninth centuries. Hexham's decline does not seem to have been influenced by any Scandinavian activity whereas Monkwearmouth and Jarrow seem to have ceased functioned as a result of the Scandinavian raids. These declines were taken advantage of by the Community of St Cuthbert, who became a major political force in the region. Æthelstan, Edmund and Cnut's donations to the Community all highlight the power and influence that the Community could exert in the region.

The sites in the region which produced the most Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture all belonged to the Community of St Cuthbert and it would be strange to imagine the Community producing such pieces if they were on hostile terms with the Anglo-Scandinavians. Monastic links and the copying of styles from other monasteries does not account for all the sculpture as some pieces seem to depict scenes from Scandinavian mythology and Scandinavian culture. Rather, what seems to have been happening is that the Anglo-Scandinavians were associating themselves with the Community's sites, the sites of power in the region and in doing so, trying to gain legitimacy, influence, power and the favour of the Community. Indeed barring the episode involving Ragnall and his followers and the actions of Olaf Guthfrithson in AD 941, relations between the Community and the Anglo-Scandinavians seem to have been professional if not amicable.

The actions of the Community in helping to get Guthred elected and Guthred's subsequent grant of land to the Community both highlight the interaction between the Anglo-Scandinavians and the Community and the possible positive relationship that might have existed. This does not seem to have been the only interaction between these two groups and it has been plausibly suggested that Scandinavian mercenaries may have been employed by the Community at different times to protect vulnerable churches (McLeod 2015). Such a practice could be seen in Ireland when Olaf Sihtricson, who was also once King of York, sent troops to protect churches at Dromiskin, Monasterboice and Dunleer from the *Uí Neíll* in AD 970 (McLeod 2015). It also seems that Olaf Sihtricson worked closely with the church during his time in York (McLeod 2015). The sparsity of references to the loss of Community lands in this area and the general sparsity of Scandinavian place-names may be interpreted as relations between the Community and the Anglo-Scandinavians being workable if not positive.

In this area then, there is little evidence of change. Barring the early period of damaging raids and the reign of Ragnall, many of the effects of which were soon overturned, the political and administrative structures remained the same, with no land ownership changes caused by Anglo-Scandinavians, and perhaps only a small number of elites in the area. There is some change in the religious landscape as the older monastic centres declined, partly due to the Anglo-Scandinavians. These were replaced by the sites of the Community of St Cuthbert and new churches which may have been founded or associated with Anglo-Scandinavians.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This project presented the evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland between the eighth and eleventh centuries. This was done through the following objectives:

Objective 1 – To assess whether or not 'Viking' is an appropriate description for Scandinavians in Britain between the eighth and eleventh centuries and if not, which alternative term offers a more accurate description

Objective 2 – To identify potential indicators of Anglo-Scandinavian presence in north east England and south east Scotland through the use of the archaeological record, sculpture, historical sources and place-names.

Objective 3 – To assess what further understanding this evidence can provide about Anglo-Scandinavian activity in north east England and south east Scotland, the form it took and the impact it had on the existing society.

Objective 4 – Analyse the evidence from north east England and south east Scotland to see whether or not it corresponds with the conclusions of Objective 1. What does the evidence from north east England and south east Scotland suggest about identity.

This section presents a summary of the findings and conclusions of the research objectives. Limitations and areas for further research have been highlighted.

8.2 Research Objectives: Summary of Findings and Conclusions

8.2.01 Research Objective 1 – 'Viking' and the alternative terms

Anglo-Scandinavian and Viking diaspora, the two alternatives to 'Viking', were assessed. Anglo-Scandinavian was the most appropriate term due to its flexibility and recognition of different cultural influences. Viking diaspora incorporated the problematic term 'Viking' and the diaspora element was not always relevant.

8.2.02 Research Objective 2 – Identifying the evidence for an Anglo-Scandinavian presence

The identification of Anglo-Scandinavian material dating from between the eighth and eleventh centuries in the archaeological record of Britain is a complex and developing process. Developments regarding the origins of hogback monuments or the increasing importance of lead weights as indicators of Anglo-Scandinavian activity highlight this, as do the various terminologies used to describe Anglo-Scandinavian material culture. These factors were taken into

account with the collection of data. The plotting of data revealed regional differences and differences within regions in evidence type.

The Tees Valley and southern County Durham region contained sites with significant quantities of sculpture, numerous possible Scandinavian place-names and a number of important artefacts. A seemingly clear divide between Anglo-Scandinavian activity in Gainfordshire and Hartness was revealed.

In northern County Durham and southern Northumberland there were significant quantities of sculpture though not found in the same numbers as further south. Artefacts concentrated on Hexham and Corbridge and possible Scandinavian place-names were sparse. Sculpture was less frequent in northern Northumberland and S.E. Scotland, only being found a few important sites. Possible Scandinavian place-names were more abundant than in the region immediately to the south and bore more similarities to the Tees Valley region. These place-names were mostly located inland. Artefacts were most common in this area and concentrated on the coast or within the inland cluster of place-names. The only burial in the whole of the study region was in this region.

To conclude there was a range of different types of evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland and that the evidence varied between regions and even within regions. There was relatively little archaeological evidence and without historical sources it would be difficult to imagine an Anglo-Scandinavian presence in the study region.

8.2.03 Research Objective 3 – A further understanding of Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the region, its form and impact

Evidence from the Tees Valley region may indicate a long term, more permanent Anglo-Scandinavian presence. Documentary sources record Anglo-Scandinavian rule over areas such as Billingham and evidence from Gainfordshire in the form of '*býʼ* place-names indicate the presence of Old Norse speakers. Sculpture with clear links to Scandinavian culture and religion consistently appears at certain sites over a number of decades. The impact of Anglo-Scandinavian activity seems greatest in this area. Historical sources recorded grants of land to the Community of St Cuthbert by individuals with Scandinavian names. Many of the sites previously belonged to the Community or were part of a larger composite estate, possibly suggesting land taking and estate fragmentation.

Anglo-Scandinavian activity and its impact is less clear in northern County Durham and southern Northumberland. Early raids may have been responsible for the decline of monastic sites, which were in turn replaced by new ecclesiastical sites. Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture occurred in the greatest numbers in this region at Chester-le-Street and Durham, both main residences of the Community, suggesting a possible association between the Community and the Anglo-Scandinavians.

Artefacts, place-names and documentary references to land taking are sparse and may reflect limited activity but also make it difficult to draw further conclusions. The overall impact seems to have been limited, possibly reflecting the Community of St Cuthbert's strong presence there.

In northern Northumberland and S.E. Scotland, inland settlement is suggested by the cluster of Scandinavian place-names in the Central Lowlands.

A number of imported high status items with links to Scandinavia and Continental Europe suggest the presence of a larger northern European luxury trade network, which the area was part of. Like the other areas, there may have been an attempt to associate with the Community of St Cuthbert as evidenced by sculpture at Tyninghame, which was a Community property, but also at Lindisfarne and Norham, which were both the main residences of the Community at one point in time. The burial from Auldhame, the only one in the study region, may represent Olaf Guthfrithson or a member of his raiding party who were active in the area in AD 941.

Apart from the damage to monastic sites caused by the early raids, there seems to have been little impact. Settlement in the Central Lowlands may have been controlled and the trade network may emphasize a focus on mercantile activity rather than landholding. There seems to be no evidence of land taking or estate fragmentation. Any damage may be difficult to associate with certainty to Anglo-Scandinavians given the contested nature of the area and the frequent raids and attacks from the nearby Kingdom of Scotland.

8.2.04 Research Objective 4 – The evidence from the study region and identity

Throughout the whole of the study region, the formation and appearance of an Anglo-Scandinavian identity seems to be clear. A willingness by the Anglo-Scandinavians to work with and adopt aspects of their host cultures seems

apparent. Guthred, who was possibly a Christian, worked with the Community, granting them substantial lands. Later Anglo-Scandinavians would continue this tradition and grant lands to the Community. King Cnut would grant Staindropshire to the Community and would go on pilgrimage to Durham. The appearance of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture at ecclesiastical sites, often those closely associated with the Community further suggests an Anglo-Scandinavian identity. Many of the carvings display a mix of Scandinavian and Christian influence and themes suggesting a coming together of cultural traditions and practices.

Even kings who were hostile to the Community and Christianity engaged with their host culture. The leaders of the Great Army and then later Ragnall both appointed Anglo-Saxons to rule on their behalf. This may have been at the expense of Anglo-Scandinavians and may suggest attempts to form conciliatory and mutually beneficial relationships with Anglo-Saxons rather than any attempts at promoting Scandinavian unity.

8.3 Limitations

Limitations with the project relate to the quantity of data. Northern County Durham and southern Northumberland lack sculpture and place-names limiting the ability to fully comprehend the nature of interactions in this area and the Anglo-Scandinavian impact on it. The reasons for the lack of evidence are not clear. Proposals for overcoming this have been outlined in the Recommendations Subsection.

There is only one burial with Scandinavian associations in the whole of the study region, which hinders attempts at fully understanding how an Anglo-Scandinavian identity was formed. It is not clear how this obstacle can be overcome, given the difficulty in locating and identifying burials with Scandinavian associations.

There is a lack of contextual information for Anglo-Scandinavian presence in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland, with no places providing accurate parallels due to the lack of similarities in terms of evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity. This may not be able to be overcome, with N.E. England and S.E. Scotland representing a unique case in relation to the Anglo-Scandinavian activity of the eighth to eleventh centuries.

8.4 Contribution to Knowledge

Studies of Anglo-Scandinavian presence and identity have not focused on N.E. England and S.E. Scotland and those that have usually have not extended north of the Tees and often focused on one strand of evidence such as place-names or sculpture. This work has aimed at extending the work on Anglo-Scandinavian identity to N.E. England and S.E. Scotland to see how identity was expressed there and how society was impacted by the coming of the Scandinavians. Furthermore, this project has taken into account recent archaeological developments such as the reconsideration of the origins of hogbacks and has utilised understudied data such as finds from the *PAS*. This will provide an accurate and up to date picture of Anglo-Scandinavian activity in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland, the impact it had and how identities in this region

which resulted from the interaction of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon culture can best be expressed.

8.5 Recommendations for future work

Recommendations for further work relate to Research Objective 3 which was:

To assess what further understanding this evidence can provide about Anglo-Scandinavian activity in N.E. England and S.E. Scotland, the form it took and the impact it had on the existing society.

The conclusion to this research objective was that Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the study region varied. There was evidence for activity and possibly settlement and estate fragmentation in the Tees Valley and southern County Durham area, especially in Gainfordshire. In northern County Durham and southern Northumberland Anglo-Scandinavian activity and impact seems to have been largely confined to early raids, though there was some association with key Community sites as mentioned earlier. In northern Northumberland and S.E. Scotland there may have been some settlement in the Central Lowlands and part of the area may have been included within a larger northern European luxury trade network.

This project used secondary data meaning that further advances in understanding are likely to occur with the recovery of new evidence. Despite this,

there are opportunities for furthering understanding within the current data set. Artefact typologies and chronologies for items such as lead weights could be further refined. Doing so would provide a better understanding of when trade was occurring and the parties concerned, ultimately leading to an improved understanding and knowledge of the chronology, function and development of sites in the eighth to eleventh centuries. N.E. England and S.E. Scotland's role in the wider Scandinavian world may also be better understood.

The study of place-names in this region, especially those of Northumberland, has received little attention and the future publication of the *Dictionary of Place-Names of Northumberland* for the English Place-Name Society will further understanding of place-names in this region and put them on a more secure footing.

In terms of finding new evidence, there are many opportunities though they are not without their difficulties. Sites such as Sockburn and Gainford seem to have been heavily linked with Anglo-Scandinavian activity and could be explored further to better understand their nature during the eighth to eleventh centuries. Gainford, in addition to its strategic location and earlier history, was a parochial centre and therefore the focus of an early *'shire'* unit. Whilst a significant volume of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture spanning nearly a century has been found at Gainford, the outlying dependencies have produced archaeological evidence and there are also place-names which seem to be of Old Norse origin. The range of evidence may merit further investigation. Excavation is not always practical or necessary. Metal detecting in accordance with the *PAS* could be encouraged to facilitate a better understanding of the sites. This approach

could also be applied at Thirston which has finds from the pre and post eighth century periods.

For northern County Durham and southern Northumberland, sculpture was lacking. This could be countered to some extent by architectural surveys of churches, especially sites with documentary evidence of an early history. As well as possibly uncovering Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, it may be possible to chart the development of the site and any structural changes that occurred during the period of Anglo-Scandinavian activity. Such techniques have revealed valuable information about ecclesiastical sites and their development elsewhere (Franklin 1985) and may provide a better understanding of the interaction between Anglo-Scandinavians and the church, including acts of patronage and how earlier and later ecclesiastical foundations fared and were regarded by the Anglo-Scandinavians. A site such as Bywell may prove to be productive. The site has an early history, with possible documentary references to an early church, whilst the sculpture from there seems to display "direct influence from the Scandinavian world" (Cramp 1977, 168).

Another option, though speculative, would be to search for Halfdan's winter camp on the Tyne. Scandinavian camps have been located elsewhere at Torksey and features from such sites may help to locate Halfdan's camp. Finding the location of and research into the camp may provide some information on the size, composition and status of members of the Great Army in the study region.

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9.3 Figures

Figure 8 –The upper part of a cross-shaft from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face A (Broad) (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass). In: Cramp, R. 1977. *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: County Durham and Northumberland Volume One, Part Two. Oxford University Press.* Plate 62, no. 290

Figure 9 - The upper part of a cross-shaft from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face B (Narrow) (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass). In: Cramp, R. 1977. *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: County Durham and Northumberland Volume One, Part Two. Oxford University Press.* Plate 61, no.291.

Figure 10 - The upper part of a cross-shaft from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face C (Broad) (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass). In: Cramp, R. 1977. *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: County Durham and Northumberland Volume One, Part Two. Oxford University Press.* Plate 61, no.292

Figure 11 - The upper part of a cross-shaft from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face D (Narrow) (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass). In: Cramp, R. 1977. *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: County Durham and Northumberland Volume One, Part Two. Oxford University Press.* Plate 61, no.293

Figure 12 - Part of a cross-shaft in two joining pieces, from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face A (Broad) (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass). In: Cramp, R. 1977. *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: County Durham and Northumberland Volume One, Part Two. Oxford University Press.* Plate 62, no.294

Figure 13 - Part of a cross-shaft in two joining pieces, from Gainford from the first half of the tenth century – Face C (Broad) (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass). In: Cramp, R. 1977. *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: County Durham and Northumberland Volume One, Part Two. Oxford University Press.* Plate 63, no.297

Figure 14 – Morris, C.D. 1977. Landholdings of the Community of St Cuthbert. In: Northumbria and the Viking settlement: the evidence for land-holding. *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th Series, Volume 5, pp 81-105, p89.

Figure 15 –Part of a cross-shaft in two pieces, dating from the last quarter of the ninth to the first quarter of the tenth century, from Great Stainton (Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass). In: Cramp, R. 1977. *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: County Durham and Northumberland Volume One, Part Two. Oxford University Press.* Plate 76, no.382

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